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THE TRAGEDY OF FINLAND

BY

THE REV. ARTHUR B. SLATER

EVENTS are moving very quickly in the little country of Finland, and none who has followed the brave fight for liberty made by the Finns can feel anything but the deepest sympathy for her in the sufferings she is now enduring, sufferings due in part to her internal dissensions, but mainly through the treatment of the Germans. Though the news we receive from that stricken country is meagre, for we may be sure the Germans will exercise a rigid control of the press agencies, we know enough to realise that at this time, the sufferings of the Finns are even greater than those of the Russian people. Serious though the differences between the various classes has proved to be, there is little doubt that the good sense of the Finns would have soon prevailed, and that, instead of losing all the benefits resulting from the new regime in Russia, they would soon have compromised in order that a stable form of Government might be instituted. This has been made impossible by the actions of the Germans who have used every means in their power, not only to sympathise the unhappy divisions, but to bring the country under complete military control. The latest news to the effect that a member of the ruling German House will probably become king of Finland will be the final mark in the degradation and bondage of this people who have so strenuously in the past fought for their rights as a nation.

It is not easy to trace recent events in Finland, but the general position is fairly clear. Those acquainted with the past history of the Finnish people would naturally expect that, with the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, would come a determined attempt to obtain the right of self-government for which they have put forward the strongest claims, and in the early days they placed their demands before the constitutional Government formed by the Duma. Their insistence on their rights proved a great difficulty to the members of that Government, even though most of them readily acknowledged that Finland had every right to a far greater measure of self-government than she had enjoyed under the old regime. However, in spite of the difficulties, an agreement was reached, and it was hoped that the sympathetic spirit shown by the Constitutional Government would render the solution of outstanding difficulties a comparatively easy matter. Evidently there was distrust among certain sections of the Finns, and though Kerensky confirmed the actions of the previous government in granting a large measure of self-government, the friction increased rather than diminished. It has been fairly clearly proved that German intrigue and influence was one of the prime factors in the disagreements that followed, for it was naturally to her advantage that the new Russian Government should

be rendered useless by her internal difficulties. With the fall of the Kerensky Government, the really dark days in Finland began. On the one side there was the steadily growing influence of the revolutionaries who took the cue from the Bolsheviks of Russia, whose support has given this section of the people means to hold out against the more conservative forces. The former have taken the name of Red Guards, while the latter are known as White Guards. The first represent the soldiers and workmen, and the latter the middle classes, and landlords. We know enough of the actions of the Bolsheviks of Russia to understand how keenly the conservative parties of Finland must have resented the attempted application of their fantastic doctrines to their own land, and the strong opposition roused by their unjust actions in confiscating the property and lands of the wealthier classes. Civil war began in earnest, each side determined to fight for what it believed was just. For months the land has been the scene of unspeakable horrors, and the numbers of killed and wounded of both classes must be enormous. At one time the Red Guards appeared to be strongest, at another the White Guards. In the case of the former, strong support in men and money was given by the Russian Revolutionary Committees, while the latter were practically unsupported. The German Chancellor stated that the intervention of their country was solely due to the fact that the White Guards, or the Conservative party had invited them to restore order and to protect their property. Our knowledge of German altruistic expeditions has been greatly increased during recent months, and we are justified in interpreting their statements in a somewhat different way from what they seek to impress on the world. We have, however, no doubt that certain sections of the Finnish people, notably the Swedish Finns and the landlords, were anxious for some outside aid, and were prepared to accept even German

aid. The results of that intervention are daily becoming more evident.

It is impossible not to feel a measure of sympathy with the classes oppressed by the Bolsheviks of Finland, and we can understand their sense of danger and insecurity when the land was brought under the control of the Red Guards supported by the Russian revolutionaries, but it must not be thought that they were the only party with a grievance. A member of the Revolutionary Commissioners of Finland recently wrote:—

"The Diet elected in the autumn was too evenly balanced between the proletariat and the bourgeois parties, and hence was unable to check the reactionary policy of the Finnish Senate, controlled exclusively by Finnish and Swedish bourgeois. The whole action of the latter is aimed at crushing the working class movement in South Finland; hence all food supplies are concentrated in North Finland, where the well-to-do peasant proprietor class is strong, thus starving the proletariat of the southern towns who have been four weeks without bread. In addition, the Finnish property classes last month drew 41 million marks partly in gold, out of the State Bank, and transferred it to Sweden and Germany. A boatload of rice sent from England three months ago to help starving Finnish workers was allowed by the Finnish Senate to be sold to Germany in exchange for arms for the White Guards. Four thousand students, sons of the rich classes, who entered the German army at the beginning of the war and became German officers have now entered Finland with arms and ammunition to put down the Finnish revolution."

It is also stated that the Finnish bourgeoisie invited the Swedish Government to send over a large force to put down the working classes. Greatly though the revolutionaries would have resented the admission of Swedish troops into Finland, it would at least have been apparent to the world, and the Allies in particular, that the bourgeoisie were not tainted with German poison, but were anxiously seeking only a solution of their internal troubles. From the reports we have received, there can be little doubt that the classes, represented by the White Guards, are desirous of

enlisting the support of Germany against the working classes with whom they are in conflict. We shall not know the truth for many days of the negotiations that preceded the invitation to the Germans to pacify the country, but it is difficult to believe that any very large section of the Finnish people would readily see filched from them what they have always considered their greatest possession, the right to govern themselves. But by calling in a foreign army to put down their fellow Finns of the Socialist persuasion, the Finnish bourgeoisie have put property before patriotism. The chief driving force in the separation of Finland from Russia was anxiety to get away from the Russian Revolution, with its subversive doctrines, but their determination to seek the aid of the Germans shows that Germany is being looked to as the champion of conservatism and reaction, and of wealth. No one would dream of saying that the people of Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, Poland, and the Ukraine, were desirous of the German occupation but there does seem strong reason to believe that the wealthy classes have sought to gain the support of Germany because they feel that she will be the strongest opponent of the new forces which are making themselves felt in every democratic country. At the present moment the whole of Finland is feeling the effect of the German occupation, and even the wealthy classes that sought their support against their countrymen will, doubtless by this time, be feeling that the treatment she is now receiving is not quite on the lines they had hoped. A military dictatorship has been appointed, and practically all necessary articles required for German consumption have been confiscated, and much has already been sent to Germany. It is very questionable whether any but a small fraction of the goods promised in return will be paid. The determination to elect a king from the German Imperial Family shows that they have no intention of stopping till the whole country is brought under

subjection economically, politically, and financially. But German plans have not always gone aright, and their action in the Ukraine may be repeated in Finland. There are many forces of great strength yet in this stricken country, and when once these are organised they will exercise an influence which will seriously affect the German occupation. The spirit of independence is not dead, and the disloyalty of the few cannot destroy the inbred desire for complete self-government. The Finns know that Russia will never again exercise those repressive measures which aimed at the destruction of her nationality, and that the Allies are also prepared to recognise their complete independence. In union with Germany those hopes will be for ever destroyed. The overwhelming dangers feared from the control of the Bolsheviks may have momentarily forced certain classes to seek friendship with Germany, but it cannot be forgotten that these very classes have been the staunchest supporters of freedom for their land, and have sacrificed their lives in the past in their struggle with Russia. The Allies need to be sympathetic towards Finland in these days, and to seek opportunities of meeting her needs. Then, too, the Germans have occupied the Aaland Islands, a step against which the Swedish Government has protested. The Swedes did not like Russian control. They will like German control even less. Their action in this part has struck a blow at the affection of the Swedes for Germany, and even though Sweden may not take an active part in military operations, there can be little doubt she deeply resents the action of Germany in ousting her from her special relation to Finland. The future is far from clear, but the past history of Finland gives us confidence to hope that she will yet cast in her influence on the side of the great principles for which the Allies stand, and against which the Germans are the strongest opponents.

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN: II

BY THE HON. SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA

FAITHFUL to his firm resolve to repay his gratitude to India by rendering her people all the service which his energy and devotion, his ability and influence could command, Sir William Wedderburn lost no time, soon after his retirement to London, to fearlessly carry out in a spirit of the greatest hope and confidence his deep-rooted convictions into practice. Inspired by the noblest of ideas, that the moral and material progress of the Indian people can only be successfully achieved by governing them on those British principles which had been laid down during almost a century by a succession of far-sighted British statesmen, he set to work in his new career of activity with a zeal, assiduity and spirit of self-sacrifice which have no parallel. In the first place, equally with his brilliant co-adjutor, Mr. Hume, he was deeply convinced of the imperative necessity of concentrating all energy and activity on securing substantial administrative reform, based on popular sentiment, not in India but in England. He had come to the conclusion from his own long experience that no reform of any value could be ever expected from the monopolists of place and power in this country. The impulse could only come from all efforts at the seat of the central authority itself in London. All legitimate Indian aspirations could only be satisfied by having a prolonged and continued agitation there. The hopes of India must lie in awakening the British public to a sense of the many burning wrongs of the people, that is to say, to a lively consciousness of the unwisdom and injustice of the administration as is carried on by the omnipotent bureaucracy who naturally have a tendency to oppose all reforms calculated to curtail their powers and privileges. To achieve this fundamental object of awakening the conscience of the British nation, it was essential to educate them. That education, it was thought, could be imparted by means of

leaflets, pamphlets and lectures, by a powerful organ of opinion voicing Indian views on Indian affairs, and by a small body of men of knowledge and experience, in and out of Parliament, who could from time to time usefully employ themselves in securing the assistance of sympathetic members of the House of Commons, well disposed towards Indian aspirations, to put interpellations and otherwise raise debates on burning problems agitating the Indian people from time to time. Practically it meant a well-considered plan of organisation which could secure the three fundamental objects. Organisation meant active workers, with sufficient leisure at their command to devote themselves with unselfishness to the great work of propaganda. A strong committee of such good and true men had to be formed. That was one part of the work on which Sir William had, soon after his retirement, done his best to concentrate his attention. This formation of a small but experienced committee of workers was the first case. For, it was only with the assistance of such a committee that the two other branches of propaganda could be successfully established, namely, a powerful organ of opinion exclusively devoted to voice the Indian view of Indian problems, political, economical, social and other, and propagate it at the seat of authority, and a standing committee of permanent members of the House of Commons anxious and willing to promote the political and other progress of Indians. All throughout the thirty years of his retirement Sir William endeavoured to the best of his power and ability, with varying success, to accomplish the great objects on which alone finally depended the realisation of Indian aspirations. That history of thirty years may be said to be really a thirty years' struggle with the forces of obstruction and opposition, ay, of obloquy and abuse. Those were also years of

ultimate hopes and disappointments as far as Indians themselves were concerned. They were thirty years of a variety of vicissitudes, domestic, foreign and financial. Any other worker, less enthusiastic, less optimistic, and less energetic might have long since given up carrying out the propaganda work. It is impossible that I can in the limited space of this *Review* touch even the fringe of those struggles and difficulties, those alternations of hopes and disappointments, of courage and despair. But such was the robust faith of Sir William, in spite of all that passed through, mostly single-handed that he never faltered. It was a deep and abiding faith, born of the righteous conviction that, come what may, India in the long run will eventually be able to secure for herself a great amelioration of her political condition. In that faith he worked to the last hour of his life, patiently and perseveringly, which may certainly be deemed unparalleled and unprecedented. He laid brick after brick of the edifice which he was principally instrumental in rearing—the edifice of which the foundations were laid by himself and his ardent and equally enthusiastic co-workers, almost all of whom have preceded him to the grave, Messrs Bonnerji and Hume, Sir Henry Cotton and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. His personal sacrifices were too great, the value of which cannot be arithmetically computed. They are unparalleled and unprecedented in the annals of British India. It is all to my mind doubtful whether even a single Indian, however able and accomplished, however energetic and patriotic, has ever been known to have performed one-tenth of the work that Sir William did during the thirty years of his retired but strenuous life.

Fairly good spadework in connection with the Congress had already been done. In 1885, Mr. Hume had paid a visit to England, and, in consultation with his many Parliamentary friends, sketched out a scheme for carrying on propaganda

work there. The programme of the Congress in respect of legislative and other important reforms had to be pressed on the attention of Parliament and the British public. Meanwhile, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was endeavouring his best to put that programme on a practical working basis. He offered to act as agent for the Congress, though he was carrying on his own private business. But he was ready and willing to spare whatever leisure he could get to help the cause of the Congress which he had at heart, having thoroughly been conversant with what was wanted by the knowledge and experience he had derived from the representatives of the people in the various provinces. He had attended the first Congress in Bombay and he was the President of the second Congress held in Calcutta in 1886. He, moreover, had given his evidence before the first Public Service Commission. Of course, the want of adequate funds to carry on political agitation of the necessary character, was greatly felt. However, an important step was taken in the following year when Messrs W. C. Bonnerji and Eardley Norton associated themselves in London with Mr. Dadabhai to enlist the sympathy and support of many good English friends of India in Parliament, notably that of Mr. Charles Bradlaugh whose parliamentary ability and eloquence were then amply recognised. A paid agency was established under the guidance of that able and accomplished Anglo-Indian journalist, and a keen Radical Politician to boot, in the person of Mr. William Digby. And thus the first vigorous campaign of a preliminary character was started. Copies of the third report of the Congress and of the speeches made thereat were printed and circulated by thousands upon thousands. Messrs Bonnerji and Norton enthusiastically went up and down the country addressing many meetings and appealing to the electorates to bestow more attention to Indian affairs and Indian political reforms. In

this laudable effort Mr. Bradlaugh gave his active support. Enthused himself, and thoroughly convinced of the justice of the Indian demand for reforms, he lectured in many places, emphasising all that Messrs Bonnerji and Norton had so ably urged. It is recorded that, though Bradlaugh did his campaigning work without a penny's charge, fully £1,700 had to be spent by way of expenses of meetings and publication of leaflets, lectures and pamphlets! A preliminary Committee of Sir William Wedderburn, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and Mr. Bradlaugh was formed. Other prominent and trusted English friends were to be added later on. In July 1889 such a Committee was formed, Messrs. W. S. Caine and Maclaren having been invited to join as additional members, with Mr. William Digby as Secretary. Later still, the Committee was strengthened by the inclusion therein of Sir Charles Schwann, Sir Herbert Roberts, Dr. G. Clark and Messrs. John Ellis, George Yule, W. C. Bonnerji and Martin Wood. The Committee was to be called "The British Committee of the Indian National Congress."

Soon after the formation of the Committee just mentioned, Sir William Wedderburn was unanimously elected President of the Fifth Congress which was held at Bombay during the Christmas week. It was historical by reason of its having the largest number of delegates and the presence of the redoubtable Mr. Bradlaugh, then just recovered from a serious illness. It was at this Congress, remarkable in more ways than one, that a skeleton scheme for the reform and reconstitution of the Council of the Governor-General for making laws and regulations and the Provincial Legislative Councils, was adopted, and the President was requested to submit the same to Mr. Bradlaugh "with the respectful request of this Congress that he may be pleased to cause a Bill to be drafted on the lines indicated in the skeleton scheme and introduce the same in the British House of Commons." The scheme

may be read in its entirety in the Congress Report of that year in order that the present generation of the Congress may accurately learn therefrom how far back the great leaders of the day, with sobriety of thought and wisdom, had agitated for the reforms which even to-day still hang fire. The fundamental principles underlying it still stand there. Moreover, it was fully recognised that, in order to successfully conduct the propaganda of the Congress at the very centre and seat of authority, a yearly sum should be placed early in the hands of the newly formed British Committee. The sum fixed was Rs. 45,000 to be collected by the various Congress Standing Committees then in vogue.

It is superfluous to relate here the history of the Reform Bill introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Bradlaugh soon after his return to London in company with Sir William. Suffice it to say that, to the earliest generation of Congress reformers, it was indeed a sad and bitter disappointment the unfortunate death of Mr. Bradlaugh after he had introduced his own Bill in the House of Commons on the lines of the Resolution passed at the Fifth Congress. Viscount Cross, of the Tory party, was then the Secretary of State. That reactionary Minister, egged on by the equally reactionary India Council of the day, was alarmed. There was a sensation in the dovecot of the latter. Their self-complacent placidity was greatly disturbed, seeing that India in the House of Commons had at last a redoubtable champion, of no mean ability, eloquence and force of logic and argument in the person of the indomitable Mr. Bradlaugh. Immense pressure and persuasion were brought on him to agree to the withdrawal of his Bill as requested by Lord Cross, on the solemn and distinct understanding that he will himself bring forward at the next session a bill which would fully meet all the aspirations of educated

Indians. Mr. Bradlaugh's death put heart in the alarmed reactionaries at the India Office. Lord Cross, no doubt, did bring a bill, but it is needless to say, it was altogether one wide apart from the spirit of Mr Bradlaugh's draft. The Secretary of State so far poured water over the solemn pledge he had made in the open House of Commons, that he ignored his distinct promise to embody in his own bill the fundamental principles of the Bill. All the subsequent agitation which has since continued up-to-date, in spite of the exceeding limp and halting legislation of 1892 and the circumscribed one of 1909, known as the Morley-Minto scheme, is entirely owing to the untoward incident just related. Indians may be quite sure, at any rate those who personally came into contact with Mr. Bradlaugh, as the present writer did, that, had Mr. Bradlaugh survived, the Bill would have been such a liberal and progressive piece of legislature as to have made the way smooth for the larger reforms which are now rightly and justly demanded by the Congress.

Now to return to the work of Sir William Wedderburn and the newly formed British Committee of the Congress. He was keenly intent on forming a strong Committee of the Members of the House of Commons, some hundred and twenty people all told, to be called "the Indian Parliamentary Committee," a Committee not committed to any particular measures but pledged to attend to Indian interests, and to see that justice was done. Here, Sir William tried to follow the principle of the "Indian Reform Society" which was formed in 1853, mainly through the laudable and earnest efforts of Mr. John Dickinson, a name then well-known, but of which the present generation of educated Indians are almost wholly ignorant. The Charter of the East India Company was about to be renewed in 1854, and according to the customary practice, a Parliamentary Committee of both

Houses was appointed to investigate how far the Company had endeavored to promote the moral and material welfare of India and the Indians during the currency of the last Charter of 1833. The "Indian Reform Society" was the active instrument, under the guidance of the indefatigable Mr. Dickinson, to collect all facts of the Indian administration during the twenty years, commencing from 1833, and all the just and legitimate grievances of the Indian people, and submit them through qualified witnesses before that Committee. It was owing to those noble efforts of that sympathetic, single-minded and sterling Englishman, that John Bright was enabled to make his eloquent and thundering speeches on India in the House, speeches which have lost none of their force even after sixty years as far as the constitution of the Government of India is concerned, and which might be commended to educated India of the day to read, mark and inwardly digest. It was fundamentally on the lines of those able speeches, full of political insight and sound statesmanship, that the Lord Derby of the day drafted the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 which is justly held to be the Magna Charta of Indian rights and privileges. The Parliamentary Committee was eventually formed in 1893. An executive Committee was also appointed with John Bright as the Chairman. It need not be said at this stage that Bright had the most implicit confidence in Sir William's sense of justice and thorough disinterestedness, the two outstanding features of Sir William's uninterrupted political activity in the cause of India which had won for him the high respect and regard of members and non-members of Parliament, of ministers and other high state-officials, among whom I may, from my recent personal knowledge, include our present distinguished Secretary of State, the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Montagu, and Mr. Charles Roberts who, a few short years ago, was the Under-Secretary of State. Lord Islington's public testimony to those traits only the other day may also be added.

And here it may be useful to point out the third preliminary or spade-work which Sir William Wedderburn accomplished in respect of the propaganda, a little after the commencement

of his activities in 1890. Side-by-side with the formation of the Parliamentary Committee he started "India" as an organ of Indian public opinion in London, an organ fully accredited and sanctioned by the National Congress. It was deemed highly essential to make the paper, slowly and by degrees, a powerful exponent of Indian questions inasmuch as till then most of the views which found expression in England were the views of the benefited and unbenefited Anglo-Indian bureaucracy. Sir William himself has stated the importance and value of such a journal in the following words:—Firstly, "because the subject of Indian grievances is unfamiliar and distasteful to the national variety of 'the man in the street'; secondly, because in the London Press articles on Indian subjects are mainly supplied by Anglo-Indians unfavourable to Indian aspirations; and, thirdly, there are no Indian electors to bring pressure upon Parliament and the Government." Those were the then strong reasons for establishing the paper "India" in London. I shall refrain from narrating here the gruesome circumstances which eventually led to the separation of the journal from the British Committee. It had, for want of adequate financial support from India, to be converted into a limited company. If it has so long struggled and has not been able to achieve a hundredth part of the object Sir William and his colleagues on the British Committee from time to time earnestly wished, it is entirely India's fault, and none was so bitterly disappointed in this respect as the late Sir William: "if India ceases to have an organ in the Press of this country (England), we will be held to have abandoned her appeal to the British public and British Parliaments." The significance of this warning will come home to every Indian at this critical juncture when the Sydenham clique has been malignantly carrying on its campaign against Indian reform scheme. The main object was to supply trustworthy information to the British public. In its early days it was quite vigorous and did its best, thanks to such capable editors as Mr. Herbert Paul and Sir Gordon Hewart, the present Solicitor-General to the Coalition Government, to fulfil the object of its founders. The special correspondent of the *Times*, of those days, a none too friendly critic of the Congress, observed that "it may not have a large circulation at home, but is the chief purveyor of Indian news to a large part of the Liberal Press." But the time is fully ripe for the Congress to do all that may lie in its power to make the paper once more a powerful organ of

Indian public opinion by placing it on a strong financial footing. What is wanted is to make "a suitable and permanent provision for its propaganda work in England." But in this article I have only been able to give an account in some broad details of the *foundation work* of the British Congress Committee and what prominent, nay, Mon's share Sir William had in it. For recounting the principal features of his own work as the Chairman of the Committee for a generation, another article would be necessary if there is to be an appreciation of his genuine work and worth specially by those who have known little or nothing of it. Only let me conclude this contribution by referring to the statesmanlike observations of the late Mr. George Yule, the president of the fourth Congress, who had entertained Sir William in London at a public dinner on 6th December 1889, before his departure from London to preside at the Congress of that year. It was a distinguished gathering of some of the most prominent men in English political circles, such as Sir William Lawson, Sir William Hunter, Sir George Birdwood, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Frederick Harrison, Mr. Massingham and Dr. Congreve. There were letters of apology, owing to unavoidable absence, from men like the late Lord Ripon, Lord Hobhouse, Professor Newman, Sir George Trevelyan, John Samuel Smith, I. E. Ellis, Herbert Gladstone and John Lang. Referring to the then proposed expansion of the Councils, Mr. Yule observed: "Timely concession to the reasonable wishes of the people always leads to a warmer appreciation of the Government by the people, and it is because I wish to see the existing sentiments of loyalty in the country strengthened and made more secure that I hope the main object of the Congress, the expansion of the Legislative Council upon a partially elective basis, may be speedily and favourably considered by Parliament." These observations seem to apply with double force at this hour when all India has made one whole-hearted and supreme effort to place the Councils on an elective basis almost wholly. It now rests with the Government to see how a timely concession to the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of a large class of people of great sobriety of thought, could be made which might be warmly appreciated, and how the spirit of loyalty which has so magnificently stood the ordeal through which India is just passing might be further strengthened and made more secure.

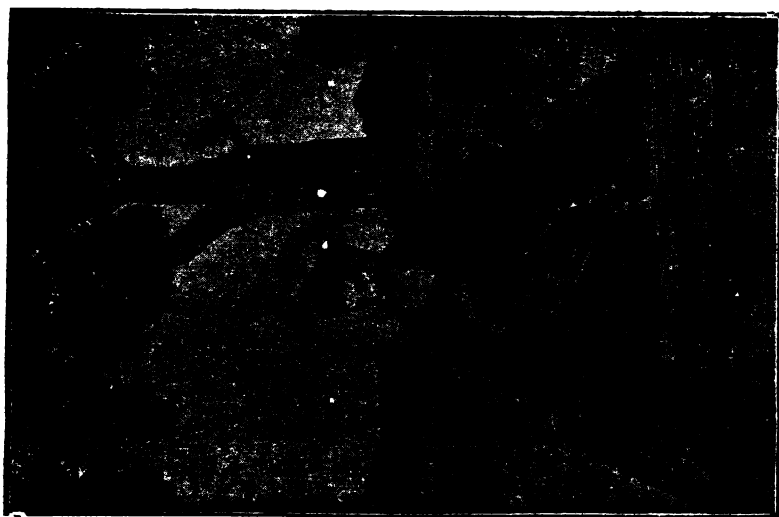
(To be concluded in the next number.)



EKANATH



GURU GOVIND




NANAK

NANAK AND GURU GOVIND

BY

MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

NANAK*

 F the several religious sects that arose in mediæval India, none has attracted greater attention or been more widely studied than the school of Sikhism founded by the Khatri mystic and poet, Nanak. The political and military greatness, to which as a nation the Sikhs attained in latter days, is to some extent at the bottom of this widespread admiration and study. The achievements in war and politics which the small community of the Sikhs made in the short space of a century and a half or two, are indeed some of the most remarkable and brilliant that have ever been recorded of any small and brave community in the world. But the political and military story apart, the Sikh religion, founded on the hymns and teachings of one of the gentlest and most mystical of mediæval Indian teachers, is interesting and valuable as one of the purest protestant faiths that arose in the middle ages in India.

NANAK'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in the month of Baisakh (April—May) 1469 A. D. in the village of Talwandi, Lahore District, the Punjab. He was a Khatri by caste. His father was Kalu, the accountant of the village, who also pursued the life of an agriculturist; and his mother was Tripta, memorable in Sikh writings for her devotion to her son. Nanak appears even in his childhood to have been of a mystic disposition and much given to contemplation. He was early put to school; but he often surprised his schoolmaster and parents by his queer acts and utterances and occasional sallies of free-thought. The Khatri father was put to much concern at the spiritual prepossessions and mystic brooding spirit of his son and tried to break him of his religious habits. He set the youth to various secular tasks—to the looking after the cultivation of the fields, to the carrying on of a little trade. But Nanak proved averse to them all. He paid little attention to his father's admonition or persuasion. He began to pass more and more of his time in religious

contemplation and practices. He gathered a few friends around himself, and with them sang and composed hymns in praise of the Creator.

Under the stress of this life of physical and mental exertion, Nanak's health too seems to have been affected somewhat. The loving parents sent for a physician. Nanak accosted the physician with a mystic outburst:

The body is weeping, the soul crieth out
'Physician, give none of thy medicine.

Physician, go home, few know my malady.

The Creator, who gave me this pain, will remove it.

NANAK'S EDUCATION

Though some of the mystics and the reformers of this epoch were unlettered men, Nanak cannot be strictly classed with them. In his village school to which he was sent in his childhood, he should have learnt the elements of reading and writing, and something of Hindi and his native dialect. His poems, which are written in a Hindi dialect prevalent at the time, reveal Nanak's acquaintance with, and good mastery of, this language. There is also proof from the internal evidence of his own compositions that Guru Nanak had studied the Persian language. Rai Bular promised that, if Nanak learned Persian, in which all State documents and accounts were then written, he would appoint him village accountant in succession to his father. Nanak, like other Hindus of the time, might therefore have applied himself to the study of the same. There are numerous Persian words and some Persian verses of the Guru found in the *Granth* and it may be accepted as a fact that he became a fair Persian scholar. It is also highly probable that his mysticism and divine love may have been kindled and inspired to some extent by the great works of the Sufi mystics in the Persian literature.

The real culture and education of Nanak should however be looked for in another quarter. All that he learnt from the school and the books was little, compared with what he should have learnt in his wanderings wherein he met with large numbers of the contemporary bhaktas and preachers. The names of the men with whom Nanak associated are lost to us. The company of these men, along with his own undis-

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for "The Saints of India Series."

turbed communings with Nature, with his own soul and with the Creator, should have filled him with those great spiritual ideas and intuitions which led him to found a great sect. The voice that had already spoken to many a seer and mystic of Northern India now again became vocal to the Khatri youth of Talwandi.

MARRIAGE AND EMPLOYMENT

Nanak had a sister, Nanaki by name. She was married to one Jai Ram, an *amil* or collector of revenue under the Mahomedan Governor, employed at Sultanpur. Nanak also was married soon after his sister's marriage. His wife was Sulakhani, daughter of Mula, a resident of Batala, in the present District of Gurdaspur. Two sons were born to Nanak. Marriage and the birth of children however failed to divert Nanak. Paying no regard to his household, he still daily betook to the woods and lonely places, and, there in the company of his friends, prayed and sang hymns to the Creator. Jai Ram, during his yearly official visits to Talwandi, had ample opportunities of cultivating Nanak's acquaintance and appreciating his qualities. Rai Bular too, the Zemindar of Talwandi, was an advocate of Nanak. It was therefore agreed between them that the thoughtful youth was being ill-treated by his father; and Jai Ram promised to cherish him and find him occupation at Sultanpur. The thought of Government employ for his son filled the father Kalu's heart with joy and he gladly parted with his son. Jai Ram introduced Nanak as an educated man to the Governor, Daulat Khan, who appointed him store-keeper and gave him a dress of honour as a preliminary of service. Nanak began to apply himself to his duties and everybody was gratified and pleased with his work. Out of the provisions which Guru Nanak was allowed—for State salary was then given in kind—he devoted only a small portion to his own maintenance; the rest he gave away to the poor.

The minstrel, Mardana, came from Talwandi and became Nanak's private servant, friend and companion in devotion. He used to accompany Nanak on the rebec when the latter sang. Other friends too followed for whom Nanak found employment under the Governor. When their work for the day was over, Nanak and his friends, Mardana the rebec-player being the chief of them, repaired to some neighbouring solitude and there spent their time in singing and prayer.

ASCETICISM AND WANDERINGS

Nanak, however, could not rest happily in his secular life. He resolved to devote himself to his mission. He abandoned his service, and, having

distributed his earthly goods amongst the poor, took up his abode in the jungle and assumed the garb and manner of life of a fakir. Here he practised all the austerities of his holy calling and began to give utterance to those inspired songs, afterwards collected and preserved in the *Adi Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs. His sole companion was his faithful servant and disciple, Mardana, who attended him in all his subsequent wanderings. Mardana was a skilled musician, and morning and evening sang his master's songs to the accompaniment of the rebec.

Nanak however did not remain long in the neighbourhood of Sultanpur. He began to wander forth among the various cities of Northern India and even outside India, teaching his gospel, making disciples and disputing with the holy men of every caste and creed. He first proceeded to Saiyidpur in the Gujranwal District where he stayed in the house of Lalo, the carpenter. He next went to Kurukshetar and Hardwar and from these to Brindaban and to Benares where he seems to have disputed with the worshippers of the various Hindu divinities. It is recorded that, at Benares, Nanak converted a Brahman Pundit by name Chatur Das to his faith. He then travelled to Puri and even farther south as far as Ceylon, and returned to his native place after an absence of twelve years.

Nanak is also credited with a journey to Mecca and the western countries. In all there seem to have been four principal "wanderings."

This was the time when the new Vaishnavite faith of South India was being vigorously propagated by various South Indian monks and preachers in the several parts of Northern and Central India. A great poet and reformer had already risen; the whole land, wherever the Hindi language was spoken, was ringing with the impassioned lyrics and intrepid utterances of Kabir: He proclaimed the Oneness and Unity of God. he defined His Nature as Love: God, he declared, is at once Absolute, Universal, One without a second; and also the Friend and Companion of each soul. The path to Him was simple: it lay through faith and devotion. Further, all are equal: there is none high or low with God. God is accessible to the "washerwoman and the carpenter" as well as to the "self-righteous holy man." Nanak then in his wanderings, might have imbibed this new religion with its great simplicity, its notions of One Absolute and Loving God and equal human rights. There is no doubt that it was the tradition of this connection and indebtedness that half

a century later led to the incorporation of a large number of the hymns of Kabir and other Vaishnavite preachers in the *Granth* compiled by Arjun.

SETTLING AT KHARATPUR

• Towards the close of his life Nanak laid aside the habits and garb of a fakir, and settled down with his family at Kharatpur. His friend Mardana also came to live with him; but, wearied with travel and with years, he died a short time after settling at Kharatpur. His son succeeded to his father's function, and assisted with his music in the prayers of Nanak to the end of the latter's life. Nanak continued to preach his gospel, and every day the *Japji* and the *Sohila*, the morning and the evening prayers, which he himself had composed, were chanted in his presence. Large numbers of followers gathered round him. He organised them all together and taught them the new faith by word and by precept. His disciples often made him offerings of coin or of kind and the old saint built almshouses and gave charities out of them. The picture that is preserved in the Sikh writings of these last days and of his teachings is a most beautiful and touching one. In spite of his increasing fame and influence, he arrogated not to himself any extraordinary greatness or power. He humbly preached to all the new religion, and said that he was himself a man among men, sinful and mortal as they were, that God was all in all and reliance on Him was the "one thing needful." "Think, pray and praise Him always. The just shall live by faith alone. A teacher hath no defence but the purity of his doctrine." He enjoined on all men to live righteously, and with brotherly love and hospitality, and to abjure all superstitions and fear. "Falsehood is at an end; Truth at last prevaleth: Worship not the dead, bow not to stones." At last when death drew near, he appointed one of his most sincere disciples to look after the community of the faithful that was forming, passing over his own son whom he thought unfit for the task. Nothing demonstrates the selflessness and the nobility of Nanak better than this appointment of Angad in preference to his own son. His death came at last in the year 1538 A.D. at the age of 69.

SIKHISM AND ITS SOURCES

• The teachings of Nanak have been considered by some to have been influenced by foreign religions and thought, and to have little in common with the doctrines and philosophy of Hinduism. The learned translator of the *Adi Granth*, Dr. Trumpp, discussing the notions embodied in

Sikhism, finds in them a late echo of the old Buddhism. Other critics have gone so far as to assert that Nanak might have owed some of his doctrines to Christian sources. Nothing however could be further from the truth. It would be misreading history and Sikhism alike to suppose that the latter was born of any extraneous influence or religion. Could one but inform oneself of the systems of thought that were current in Northern India at the time, could one but pursue the clue furnished by the names and hymns of the Hindi *Bhagabats* (Vaishnava Mystics) occurring in the *Granth*, one would find that the doctrines and teachings of Nanak, like those of the other great reformer, Kabir, to whom he bears a great similarity in character and teaching alike, were chiefly derived from the contemporary Vaishnavite schools of thought.

Kabir and Nanak no doubt differed in an important particular from the reformers of Bengal and the saints of Maharashtra. The training and ideas of the latter lay more among the orthodox traditions and learning of Hinduism. Their teachings were therefore based on the accredited scriptures and systems of the land. Kabir and Nanak, while accepting their theological and spiritual principles—their notions of God and soul and devotion—base the authority and source of their faith, not in the Shrutis and the Smritis, but in the heart of man, its intuitions and longings. This difference in view has led to important distinctions which make the sects founded by these two men eminent in some ways. But otherwise, Sikhism and the religion of Kabirpanthis remain the most characteristic survivals of mediæval Vaishnavism.

NANAK'S RELIGION AND POETRY

"There is but one God whose name is true, the Creator." These are the first words of the *Granth Sahib*. This fundamental truth, the unity of the Supreme Spirit, Nanak made the basis of his doctrine. God is One, He is the God, not of the Hindu, not of the Musulman, not of the Christian, but of mankind. Under whatever name He is worshipped—Jehovah, Allah or Ram—He is "the One, Invisible, Eternal, Uncreated". Knowledge of God is the most important of all knowledge. It is not for the Brahman alone but for all, and all have a right to seek it for themselves. Similarly the worship of God is not the exclusive privilege of the priesthood, it is a service in which every man has an equal right to participate, a duty which cannot be performed by one man on behalf of another. It must be in truth and simplicity and devotion, and

needs neither incense nor burnt offerings nor sacrifice.

These notions of Godhead and true worship and service are preached in a series of most beautiful and mystic poems.

In the teachings of Nanak, morality holds a very high place. Few of India's, even of the world's, religions have laid down a more exalted moral code than is to be found in the pages of the *Granth*. Purity of life is set forth as the highest object of human endeavour. Nothing to which man can attain is more acceptable to God. Without it, even faith is unavailing. Loyalty, honesty, justice, mercy, charity and temperance are among the virtues on which vital stress is laid : while evil-speaking, covetousness, anger, selfishness, extravagance and cruelty are denounced with equal rigour. The daily practice of cleanliness, of almsgiving and of abstinence from animal food, is strictly enjoined and obedience to the guru is demanded of every Sikh as his first duty. But as regards the last, it is but proper to acquit Nanak of the height and extravagance to which the doctrine was pushed in latter days.

NANAK AND AFTER

Nanak, as might be seen already, was simply a teacher of religion. Regarding his followers merely as disciples, he had no views of political advancement. As a preacher of peace and goodwill to man, he told them "to fight with valour but with no weapon except the word of God." His care was to prevent his followers from contracting into a narrow sect or into monastic distinctions ; proving this by excluding his son, a meditative ascetic, from the ministry after him, though he in the end became the founder of a sect called the *Udasis*, men indifferent to the world, who still exist in large numbers among the Sikhs. The religion thus established by Nanak differed in no wise from the one founded by Kabir and, but for great historical circumstances, would have developed into a quiet, and quaker-like faith. The persecution of the growing faith, however, by the Mahomedans gave it a sharp military character ; and when a century of cruelty and distress passed, there came to the guruship an intrepid and mystic youth who, fired with the indignities inflicted on his people and filled with a noble patriotism and love of men, welded the Sikhs into a strong and powerful nation and made possible the establishment of a small yet historic republic, which along with the rise and consolidation of the Marathas, forms one of the most interesting and remarkable episodes in the history of modern India.

GURU GOVIND*



GOVIND Singh was born in the year 1666 A.D. at Patna. As a child, Govind Singh seems to have been greatly fond of sports and martial exercises and, gathering a few companions, often engaged in shooting and the chase. When he came to Anandpur, he was affectionately received by his father who at once made efforts to give the boy mental and physical equipment. The times, however, were hard and Govind Rai was not long to enjoy Tegh Bhahadur's care and affection. On the representation of the Hindus of Kashmir who complained that they were much persecuted by the Mahomedans, Tegh Bhahadur started for Delhi to visit the Emperor in person. He knew that death was before him and calling his child, his family and his devoted Sikhs together, took leave of them. He then invested his son Govind Rai, then only nine years of age with the sword of his father, Har Govind, who had first used it in defence of the faith, hailed him as the future Guru of the Sikhs and exhorted him to recover his body. The tragic story of Tegh Bhahadur's journey to Delhi which ended in his death is well known to students of history. On his death, Govind Rai was installed as the tenth guru at the tender age of nine years (1675 A.D.)

GOVIND SINGH'S YOUTH AND EARLY LIFE

After his father's death and his installation as a Guru, Govind Rai continued with greater diligence than ever to prepare himself for a life of military defence and national achievement. Beginning with his few cousins, the sons of his aunt Viro and his uncle Suraj Mal, he gathered large numbers of followers, supplied them with arms and arrows and with them practised archery and musket shooting. As increasing numbers came, Govind Rai formed a regular army and, in order to complete his military equipment, had a big drum constructed. The activities of the youthful Govind Rai were not, however, free to develop ; they aroused the suspicions of the hill Rajahs who now began to treat the Guru with hostility. Govind Rai's own mother and uncle expostulated with him, saying "Our business is with religion for which humility is required." The Guru replied, "Mother, dear, how long shall I remain in concealment ? I am not going to take forcible possession of the hill Rajahs' territories. If they are jealous for nothing and allow their

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for "The Saints of India Series."

hearts to rankle, I cannot help it. This is the Guru's castle where men shall obtain their deserts.' The hill Rajahs, under the leadership of Rajah Fatah Shah of Srīnagar made war on Govind Singh, aided by Mahomedan mercenaries. Govind Singh defeated the Rajahs completely, and his followers and countrymen rejoiced greatly. For twenty years from his accession to the Guruship, Govind Rai thus continued his life amidst the secluded valleys of the Sutlej, gathering followers, exercising them in arms and discipline, and occasionally fighting and conquering small bits of territory from the unfriendly hill Rajahs.

GOVIND'S MARRIAGE

Two years after his installation, a man named Bikhia residing in Lahore went to visit the Guru, and seeing him handsome and well-proportioned, offered him his daughter Jito. The Guru's mother was pleased and the marriage was soon celebrated (1677 A.D.). Some time after, another Sikh who had a daughter named Sundari proposed to the Guru to wed her and make her the slave of his feet. The Guru did not desire another wife but it was pressed on him by his mother, and the Guru's nuptials were not long after solemnised. Four sons were born to Govind of whom two died in battle, and the other two, as we shall afterwards see, were cruelly put to death by the Mahomedans in Sirhind. The names of the two sons of Jito were Zorawar Singh and Jujhar Singh; while those of Sundari were Ajit Singh and Falat Singh, these two being the eldest and the last.

GOVIND SINGH AND HINDU SHASTRAS

It was during this period of his life—a period of study and warlike preparation—that Govind Singh called in a number of bards to translate the Hindu Puranas and the Epics—the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the stories of Durga, Rama, Krishna and other Hindu Deities. It is also said that Govind celebrated a great sacrifice in honour of Durga, hoping that the goddess would help him in his military pursuits and ambition. This chapter of his life has been criticised by many adversely to Sikhism as indicating a relapse on the part of Guru Govind into idolatrous Hinduism. From what we find in his great and authentic hymns and poems, there is nothing to indicate that Govind Singh was an idolater in any bad sense of the term. He often pours ridicule upon the worship of stones and stocks and meaningless rituals and rites. The proper explanation therefore of this incident of his life is perhaps the one advanced by the learned writer, Macauliffe, in his book on Sikhism. At that time

it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray. On that account the tenth Guru maintained fifty-two bards to translate the Mahabharat, the Ramayana, the gallant achievements of Ram, Krishna, Chandi and others. It does not follow from this that the Guru worshipped those whose acts were thus celebrated; this was only done for the purpose of inciting to bravery, dispelling cowardice, and filling the hearts of his troops with valour to defend their faith. This the Guru himself declares in his translation of the tenth canto of the *Bhagavat* in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Krishna. He says, "I have rendered in the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the *Bhagavat* with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare."

THE FORMATION OF THE KHALSA

By this time, when the Guru was some thirty years old, Govind Singh had matured his plans of reforming the Sikhs and forming them into a compact and homogeneous people. The violent death of his father and the deep sense of the wrongs of his persecuted race of which reports were daily reaching his ears, had long rankled in his mind and he now resolved to put an end to them. The time too perhaps suited him, the bigot emperor Aurangazib having commenced a crusade against Hindu and Sikh alike.

The Guru invited all his Sikhs to attend the great Baisakhi fair at Anandpur. Many were the men to respond; they came in crowds and joined him. On finding them assembled, the Guru ordered that carpets be spread on a raised mound which he indicated, and that an adjacent spot should be screened off with tent walls. When this was done, the Guru ordered a confidential Sikh to go at midnight, the five goats in the enclosure and let no one know what he had done. Next morning, the Guru rose a watch before day, performed his devotions and put on his arms and uniform. He then proclaimed that there should be a great open-air gathering. When all were seated, he drew his sword, and asked if there was any one of his beloved Sikhs ready to lay down his life for him. No reply was given. All grew pale on hearing such a proposal. The Guru asked a second time but with the same result. A third time he spoke in a louder voice, "If there be any true Sikh of mine, let him give me his head as an offering and proof of his faith."

Daya Singh, a Sikh of Lahore, rose and said "O true King, my head is at thy service." The Guru took his arm, led him within the enclosure and gave him a seat. He then cut off a goat's head with one stroke of the sword, went forth and showed the dripping weapon to the multitude. The Guru asked again, "Is there any other true Sikh who will bestow his head on me?" The crowd felt now quite convinced that the Guru was in earnest and that he had killed Daya Ram, so no one replied. At the third time of asking, Dharm Das of Delhi answered, "O Great King, take my head." The Guru, assuming an angry mien, took Dharm Das within the enclosure, seated him near Daya Ram and killed another goat. The Guru, then looking very fierce, came forth and said, "Is there any other Sikh who will offer me his head? I am in great need of Sikhs' heads." On this some remarked that the Guru had lost his reason, others went to the Guru's mother to complain. When the Guru began to call for the fourth Sikh, the Sikhs thought he was going to kill them all. So, some ran away and some hung down their heads. Sahib Chand, a resident of Bidar was the fourth to place himself at the disposal of the Guru. The Guru took him into the tent and killed another goat. The Guru then came out and asked for the head of another Sikh. On this many ran away. Himmat of Jagannath was the fifth to offer himself. The Guru took him inside the tent and killed the remaining goat.

The Guru was now ready to sacrifice his own life for the five Sikhs who showed such devotion to him. He clad them in splendid raiment, so that they shone like the sun, and thus addressed them: "My brethren, you are in my form, and I am in yours. He who thinketh there is any difference between us erreth exceedingly." Then seating the five Sikhs near him, he addressed the assembly, "In the time of Guru Nanak, there was found one devout Sikh, namely Guru Angad. In my time there are found five Sikhs totally devoted to the Guru. These shall lay anew the foundation of Sikhism, and the true religion shall become current and famous throughout the world." The people became astonished at the Guru's expedient, and fell at the feet of the five devoted Sikhs, saying "Hail to the Sikh religion! You, brethren, have established it on a permanent basis. Had we offered our heads like you, we too should be blest." The Guru again addressed the Sikhs: "Since the time of Baba Nanak, *charanpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the

Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but the Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from Sikhs to *Singhs* or Lions. They who accept the nectar of the *pahul* shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter."

According to the Persian historian Ghulam Muhiul Din, the newswriter of the day sent the Emperor a copy of the Guru's address to the Sikhs on this occasion. It is dated the first of Baisakh, Samvat 1756 (1699 A.D.) and runs as follows: "Let all embrace one creed and obliterate differences of religion. Let the four Hindu castes who have different rules for their guidance abandon them all, adopt the one form of adoration, and become brothers. Let no one deem himself superior to another. Let none pay heed to the Ganges and other places of pilgrimage which are spoken of with reverence in the Shastras or adore incarnations such as Ram, Krishna, Brahma and Durga, but believe in Guru Nanak and other Sikh Gurus. Let men of the four castes receive my baptism, eat out of one dish, and feel no disgust or contempt for one another."

The newswriter, while forwarding the report, thus makes his own comment thereon: "When the Guru had thus addressed the crowd, several Brahmans and Khatrias stood up, and said that they accepted the religion of Guru Nanak and the other Gurus. Others on the contrary said that they would never accept any religion which was opposed to the teaching of the Vedas and the Shastras and that they would not renounce at the bidding of a boy the ancient faith which had descended to them from their ancestors. Thus, though several refused to accept the Guru's religion, about twenty thousand men stood up and promised to obey him, as they had the fullest faith in his divine mission."

The place where this historic meeting took place is now known as Kesgarh.

THE NEW ARMY AND ITS CHARACTER

Govind Singh's next move was to issue an order that every Sikh house inhabited by four adults males should contribute two for service under him. In a short time, 80000 were gathered round him. In addressing them he commenced by praising God as the Almighty, the Omnipotent, Invincible and Merciful who must be worshipped in truthfulness and in sincerity. He could only be beheld by the eye of faith in the general body of the

Khalsa. All Sikhs must live like brothers. A number of these remarkable addresses of Govind Singh to his followers given on the battle field or in the camp or in the general meetings which were held on stated occasions or when large numbers of Sikhs came to be baptised, are preserved in the Sikh chronicles and attest his eloquence, his strength of mind and ideal and the perseverance with which he ever kept the Sikhs in memory of the great ideals he had dedicated himself to work for.

Govind Singh appealed to the eternal instincts of equality, liberty and brotherhood, broke for ever the caste prejudices and received into the Khalsa people of all classes who had hitherto been debarred from bearing arms and participating in religion. The Singhs of the Khalsa should have felt themselves at once elevated and equal to the proud and martial Rajput. Personal pride and strength were infused into them, and Sikhism knitted them together into one common brotherhood, animated by a common faith, one social life and national longing.

The effect of these new teachings, it is said, was immediate and profound. The Sikhs began to manifest great chivalry and courage and live in sweet social love and harmony among themselves. Wherever there was oppression or cruelty, the Sikhs were there and with ready heart and brave arms, helped the persecuted. Among themselves they lived like brothers; they used to feed one another, shampoo one another when tired, bathe one another, wash one another's clothes, and one Sikh always met another with a smile on his face and love in his heart. Their devotion to their religion and the Guru also grew, and morning and evening they could be seen in the camp or their village homes devoutly repeating the Japji and the Sohila and the hymns of the Gurus.

STRUGGLES WITH THE MAHOMMEDAN EMPEROR

The increasing power of Govind Singh and his nation, the new courage and faith he had infused into them, filled the neighbouring hill Rajahs with fear and even roused the suspicions of the Delhi Government. An army was therefore sent under Sayid Khan to subdue Govind Singh; Sayid Khan however seems to have betrayed his command and joined Guru Govind. A second time, another army was sent under Wazir Khan with strict orders to capture Anandpur and destroy Govind Singh's forces. Wazir Khan's army advanced and soon laid siege to Anandpur. Hill chiefs too came and joined the Mahommedan general with their army. The siege was long and

protracted. Govind Singh defended the city with great courage and heroism. But brave and valiant as they were, they were face to face with a highly equipped and more numerous army; at last Govind Singh and his few surviving followers were forced to evacuate the city. Govind Singh marched south by way of Kirtapur, while his mother and his two children (the other two had already fallen in the battle) went to Sirhind where they took refuge in a Brahman's house. The treacherous Brahman robbed the mother of the wealth she was carrying, and, more horrible still, betrayed their arrival to the local Mahommedan governor. The tragic story of the children's death is well known; how the two heroic youths were asked, on the penalty of death, to embrace the Mahommedan faith, how they nobly refused to fall away from the faith of their father and their Gurus; how they were at last cruelly buried alive under a wall.

GOVIND SINGH'S LETTER TO AURANGAZIB

The news of the tragic fate of his children reached Govind Singh while he was staying at a village called Jatpura, fifty miles from Sirhind. It is said that the Guru on hearing the narrative, dug up a shrub growing by with his knife and uttered, "As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated." The Guru next went to Dina and it was here, where his stay appears to have been somewhat protracted that he wrote his celebrated Persian epistle to Aurangazib in reply to an invitation from the Emperor to come and see the latter. The evidence as to whether the letter reached Aurangazib or how he received it is meagre, but, as it is, nothing can excel the remarkable strength and courage, and the noble indignation, it reveals. Withal it is instinct with a great religious and moral fervour, little known to the iconoclastic faith of the Mahommedans. In it are combined the righteous indignation of the saint as well as the woes of the patriot. We give the letter below. It is styled *Zafar Nama*.—

"I have no faith in thine oath to which thou tookest the One God as witness. I have not a particle of confidence in thee. Thy treasurer and thy ministers are all false.

As to my defeat at Chamkaur, what could forty men do when a hundred thousand came on them unawares?

I am a slave and servant of the King of Kings and ready to obey His order with my life. Should His orders reach me, I will go to thee with all my heart. If thou have any belief in God, delay not in this matter. *It is thy duty to know God,*

He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an emperor's throne; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas! a hundred times alas! for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Promises not intended to be fulfilled injure those who make them. Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God. He cannot be flattered or praised. The King of kings is without fear. He is the true Emperor of earth and heaven.

When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine empire, while I am proud of the kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless; this caravansary is only for a few days. People leave it at all times. Behold the revolution which passeth over every denizen and house in this faithless world. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. Lay not the axe to thy Kingdom. When God is a friend, what can an enemy do even though he multiply himself a hundred times? If an enemy practise enmity a thousand times, he cannot, as long as God is a friend, injure even a hair of one's head."

Govind Singh was still pursued by the Mahomedan troops and seems to have retreated further east. While at Baghaur, he heard of Aurangazib's death. On Aurangazib's death, there was a scramble among his sons for the throne, and Bhahadur Shah who eventually became Emperor, sought Govind Singh's help. The assistance rendered by the Guru's army was valuable and earned him the gratitude of Bhahadur Shah. The Emperor went and met the Guru and expressed his affection and gratitude to the Guru. The Guru then marched on an expedition with the Emperor to the south, having been placed by the latter at the head of 5000 horses. While they reached Nander on the banks of the Godavari, the Guru was mortally wounded by a Pathan assassin. The current Sikh account is that he was stabbed by one Gul Khan, a grandson of Pinda Khan, in revenge for the death of the latter at the hands of Guru Har Govind. Another account is given in Bhahadur Shah's history viz., that the Guru used often to address assemblies of disciples and strangers on religion, that, on one such occasion, some words fell from his lips which sounded to a Mahomedan as blaspheming his faith and that the latter at once stabbed the Guru with a poniard.

THE GURU'S LAST ADDRESS

As Govind Singh lay mortally wounded, he

gathered himself and thus addressed his assembled followers, "O Dear and Beloved Khalsa, the immortal God's will can never be resisted. He who is born must assuredly die. Guru Arjun hath said 'everything we behold shall perish.'—It is the Immortal God alone who ever abideth..... Know that the light of the Imperishable God whose attributes are permanence, consciousness, happiness ever shineth in you. Wherefore always abide in cheerfulness, never give away to mourning..... Again he said, "I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Ever remain under His protection, trust no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. I have infused my soul into the Khalsa and the Granth Sahib." He then bathed and putting on new clothes said "Wah Guru jikā Khalsa. Wah Guru, jiki Fatah. O beloved Khalsa let him, who desireth to behold me, behold the Guru Granth. Obey the Granth Sahib. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns."

Few lives, in or outside India, of saint or national leader, have had a more noble close.

POETIC WORKS AND RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE.

Govind Singh has left a number of works, some of them, the poems and hymns, being his own composition, and the others, the work of the fifty-two bards he employed, consisting chiefly of translations from the Hindu Epics and Puranas. These were collected together into a single work, called *Govind Singhi Granth* or the *Granth* of Govind Singh, and form an object of devoted study and worship among the Sikhs; next to the older *Granth* of Nanak and his immediate successors. The original works in this collection consist of a number of poems, hymns and prayers and the autobiography of the Guru, called the *Vichitra Natak*. These works fully embody the religion and teachings of the tenth Guru and also his great national and warlike ideals. Spite of the eager notes of warlike ambition and secular glory one often meets with in these poems, they are not without a strong mysticism and faith of their own and discover a great and beautiful conception of Godhead and of true religion.

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE FOR INDIA

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI*

It behoves us to devote attention to a consideration of a national language, as we have done to that of the medium of instruction. If English is to become a national language, it ought to be treated as a compulsory subject. Can English become the national language? Some learned patriots contend that even to raise the question betrays ignorance. In their opinion English already occupies that place. His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent utterance has merely expressed a hope that English will occupy that place. His enthusiasm does not take him as far as that of the former. His Excellency believes that English will day after day command a larger place, will permeate the family circle, and at last rise to the status of a national language. A superficial consideration will support the vice-regal contention. The condition of our educated classes gives one the impression that all our activities would come to a standstill if we stop the use of English. And yet deeper thought will show that English can never and ought not to become the national language of India. What is the test of a national language?

(1) For the official class it should be easy to learn.

(2) The religious, commercial and political activity throughout India should be possible in that language.

(3) It should be the speech of the majority of the inhabitants of India.

(4) For the whole of the country it should be easy to learn.

(5) In considering the question, weight ought not to be put upon momentary or shortlived conditions.

The English language does not fulfil any of the conditions above named. The first ought to have been the last, but I have purposely given it

the first place because that condition alone gives the appearance of being applicable to the English language. But upon further consideration we should find that for the officials even at the present moment it is not an easy language to learn. In our scheme of administration, it is assumed that the number of English officials will progressively decrease, so that in the end only the Viceroy and others whom one may count on one's finger-tips will be English. The majority are of Indian nationality to-day, and their number must increase.

And everyone will admit that for them English is more difficult to be learnt than any Indian language. Upon an examination of the second condition, we find that until the public at large can speak English, religious activity through that tongue is an impossibility. And a spread of English to that extent among the masses seems also impossible.

English cannot satisfy the third condition because the majority in India do not speak it.

The fourth, too, cannot be satisfied by English because it is not an easy language to learn for the whole of India.

Considering the last condition we observe that the position that English occupies to-day is momentary. The permanent condition is that there will be little necessity for English in the national affairs. It will certainly be required for imperial affairs. That, therefore, it will be an imperial language, the language of diplomacy, is a different question. On that purpose its knowledge is a necessity. We are not jealous of English. All that is contended for, is that it ought not to be allowed to go beyond its proper sphere. And as it will be the imperial language, we shall compel our Malaviyajis, our Shastriars and our Banerjeas to learn it. And we shall feel assured that they will advertise the greatness of India in other parts of the world. But

* From the address to the Guzerat Educational Conference specially translated for the *Indian Review*.

English cannot become the national language of India. To give it that place is like an attempt to introduce Esperanto. In my opinion it is unmanly even to think that English can become our national language. The attempt to introduce Esperanto merely betrays ignorance. Then which is the language which satisfies all the five conditions? We shall be obliged to admit that Hindi satisfies all those conditions.

I call that language Hindi which Hindus and Mahomedans in the North speak and write, either in the Devanagari or the Urdu character. Exception has been taken to this definition. It seems to be argued that Hindi and Urdu are different languages. This is not a valid argument. In the Northern parts of India Musalmans and Hindus speak the same language. The literate classes have created a division. The learned Hindus have Sanskritised Hindi. The Musalmans, therefore, cannot understand it. The Moslems of Lucknow have Persianised their speech and made it unintelligible to the Hindus. These represent two excesses of the same language. They find no common place in the speech of the masses. I have lived in the North. I have freely mixed with Hindus and Mahomedans, and although I have but a poor knowledge of Hindi I have never found any difficulty in holding communion with them. Call the language of the North what you will, Urdu or Hindi, it is the same. If you write it in the Urdu character you may know it as Urdu. Write the same thing in the Nagari character and it is Hindi.

There, therefore, remains a difference about the script. For the time being Mahomedan children will certainly write in the Urdu character and Hindus will mostly write in the Devanagari. I say mostly, because thousands of Hindus use the Urdu character and some do not even know the Nagari character. But when Hindus and Mahomedans come to regard one

another without suspicion when the causes begetting suspicion are removed, that script which has greater vitality will be more universally used and therefore become the national script. Meanwhile those Hindus and Mahomedans who desire to write their petitions in the Urdu character should be free to do so, and should have the right of having them accepted at the seat of National Government.

There is not another language capable of competing with Hindi in satisfying the five conditions. Bengali comes next to Hindi. But the Bengalis themselves make use of Hindi outside Bengal. No one wonders to see a Hindi-speaking man making use of Hindi, no matter where he goes. Hindu preachers and Mahomedan Moulvis deliver their religious discourses throughout India in Hindi and Urdu and even the illiterate masses follow them. Even the unlettered Gujarati going to the North attempts to use a few Hindi words, whereas a gatekeeper from the North declines to speak in Gujarati even to his employer, who has on that account to speak to him in broken Hindi. I have heard Hindi spoken even in the Dravid country. It is not true to say that in Madras one can go on with English. Even there I have employed Hindi with effect. In the trains I have heard Madras passengers undoubtedly use Hindi. It is worthy of note that Mahomedans throughout India speak Urdu and they are to be found in large numbers in every province. Thus Hindi is destined to be the national language. We have made use of it as such in times gone by. The rise of Urdu itself is due to that fact. The Mahomedan kings were unable to make Persian or Arabic the national language. They accepted the Hindi Grammar, but employed the Urdu character and Persian words in their speeches. They could not, however, carry on their intercourse with the masses through a foreign tongue. All this is not unknown to the

English. Those who know anything of the sepoys know that for them military terms have had to be prepared in Hindi or Urdu.


Thus we see that Hindi alone can become the national language. It presents some difficulty in the case of the learned classes in Madras. For men from the Deccan, Gujarat, Sind and Bengal it is easy enough. In a few months they can acquire sufficient command over Hindi to enable them to carry on national intercourse in that tongue. It is not so for the Tamils. The Dravidian languages are distinct from their Sanskrit sister in structure and grammar. The only thing common to the two groups is their Sanskrit vocabulary to an extent. But the difficulty is confined to the learned class alone. We have a right to appeal to their patriotic spirit and expect them to put forth sufficient effort in

order to learn Hindi. For in future when Hindi has received State recognition it will be introduced as a compulsory language in Madras as in other Provinces and intercourse between Madras and them will then increase. English has not permeated the Dravidian masses. Hindi, however, will take no time. The Telegus are making an effort in that direction even now. If this Conference can come to an unanimous conclusion as to a national language, it will be necessary to devise means to attain that end. Those which have been suggested in connection with the media of instruction are with necessary changes applicable to this question. The activity in making Gujarati the medium of instruction will be confined to Gujarat alone, but the whole of India can take part in the movement regarding the national language.

SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE PUNJAB

BY

SARALA DEVI CHAUDHURANI

HEN the country's desire for dedication to social service is becoming more and more keen every day, we may with interest and profit study each other's notions and actions with regard to it. To this end I shall try to recount the different views and kinds of social service in vogue in the Punjab.

The land of the five rivers still recognises and preaches the old-world ideal of social service in India as fivefold.

The individual man as a member of society had to keep up the continuity of the race by a wedded life: bachelorhood was a social sin. His service to the father or the nation required him to marry and contribute to its man-power, this was *pitriyajua*. Again he had to uphold the standard of excellence of the spiritual lore of the race by a daily study of the scriptures himself;

this was *Rishiyajua*. Next his services to the elemental gods were performed by fire-sacrifices to purify the physical atmosphere of his home and help in the downpour of rain by communal *Brihadyajua*s. His duties to mankind as such come under the heading of *Manushyayajua*, and last of all his services to the whole animal world as *Bhutayajua* or *Vishvabala*.

Out of these five the present day social service leagues are concerned with the services to mankind as such only. Even under this heading I believe the different activities I am expected to enumerate are those that are based on modern Western lines alone. But Indian society is older than Western conquest. The Punjab is one of the latest acquirements of the British nation. Hence the old Indian society with its Indian modes of social service to man is still amply in evidence.

there. Society is still divided into distinctly different clans or communities with inter-communal amity and good-feeling.

In these communistic bodies social regulations go hand in hand with social services. At times of marriage and death the services of the men and women of the *biradari* or clan is always at your disposal without the asking. In fact in the case of a daughter's wedding no one is invited; a messenger simply carries the news round and everybody is expected to come and help the father to receive the bridegroom's party without friction, to make everything pass off smoothly and go back and have one's dinner at home. A high court judge and a postal peon of the same clan are exactly on the same footing in these social functions. Each has to offer services and get back services in return when his turn comes.

When a death occurs it is the men of the clan who carry the dead body to the funeral place, not necessarily the sons alone—or in the absence of retiring sons of the new light as in Bengal—never up till this day a hired carrier—even if the person may have died of plague or cholera. These old forms of service within the community have developed into service to fellow-members of more modern societies such as the Arya Samaj. In days of plague I have seen bands of Arya Samaj workers attending plague patients, carrying and burning the dead and doing all that is needful for the departed or their relations as a matter of course from a habit of mind inherited from ages and not acquired through modern education only. Even at non-epidemic times if a man dies without any relation or caste people to help in his funeral, his widow has simply to send word to the Arya Samaj to get the Samajic workers to come and help her in performing her last duties towards her husband.

There is often greater accumulation of force within a narrow circle than in a wide one. More concentration of energy is possible, more heartiness

and servicefulness is displayed within the clan than when extended outside to the whole race. One can well understand this. For service can be rendered only where there is readiness to accept it and there must be a community of feeling between the server and the served before service can be given or taken. Hence I find that the members of all-embracing, modern institutions like the Hindu Sabhas do no personal service to each other worth the name, their function being congregational services by starting institutions such as schools, colleges, orphanages and the like. It is the old communal bodies only that keep up the personal touch with fellow human beings, hence their existence is a necessity for the good of society. It is hoped, however, that in the present endeavour of most clans and communities to crystallise their communal unity and good feeling into clanishness by transforming themselves into the new type societies with big names such as the Mohyal Brahman Sabha, the Serene Khatha, etc.; they will not lose their old-world habit of personal service to members of the same community which was fluid enough to be extended to others, and gain in exchange the spirit of claiming more recognition from Government as a separate entity with a rigidity excluding fellow-communities from their scope of fellow-feeling and amity.

One of the older forms of service to humanity still extant in the Punjab is that of hospitality or *Atithiyajua*. The poor as well as the rich entertain *unexpected* guests at all hours of the day and night. The normal condition of life of a householder there or even of a student in the hostel is that of a life coloured with the presence of a guest or two if not daily at least very frequently. I cannot think of a single family in the Punjab where the guest is not a factor to be counted with in its daily programme. Like Abu Hussain of the Arabian Night's Tale a true Punjabi never sits down to his meal happily unless he has a guest by his side. A kinsman, a

villageman—be he one of the higher castes, etc., even an untouchable,—a friend, a friend's friend or a friend's guest have all equal claims on a Punjabi's hospitality. The *Dharmasalas* of the Punjab of rest-houses for strangers are one of the many forms in which the spirit of hospitality has manifested itself in the Punjab. Another form of service to man of a similar nature is the structure of *Janjghars* or houses for bridal parties. In the Punjab the bridegroom's party remain as guests of the bride's party for three days and three nights. On the morning of the fourth day they generally leave. Not only food but house accommodation has necessarily to be provided for these guests often numbering more than two to three hundreds. Thus in big cities where house accommodation on a large scale is difficult to obtain for a short period, a *janjghar* is a great boon to the public.

Of the modern movements the ultra-communal service to mankind which looms most largely in view in the Punjab is that for the uplift of the depressed classes. I have come in intimate and personal touch with it having accompanied my husband—Pamdit Rambhaji Dutt Choudry in some of his Shuddhi tours as they are called.

Imagine a vast mass of humanity comprising several thousands of men, women and children on the wooded banks of one of the five rivers of the Punjab. They look like the early Anaryas, the kinsmen of Ekalavya, unkempt, unclad but for a loin cloth and a short-sleeved kurta, a dirty piece of cloth wrapped round the head as pugri,—not being permitted by the unwritten laws of their high caste neighbours to put on dresses as good or long or clean as those of their social superiors. They are waiting like herds of dumb animals for the loving hand that will lift them to the scale of humanity. Men, women and children, most of them handsome, stalwart and strong with clear cut Aryan features—though rather bronzed through constant outdoor work—pour in from all parts of

the district for days together under the trees, cook their own food, drink the turbid river water—not being permitted yet to use the village wells, and wait patiently for the Master's advent. The Master, the Guruji, is coming to them through flood and rain. He is sometimes swimming across high rivers, sometimes galloping down marshy malarial plains on horse, sometimes jogging along slowly on springless tongas. Foodless and sleepless for hours he is hastening to reach the mutely awaiting flock of oppressed humanity by the appointed day.

On his nearing a village his first step is always directed towards the homes of the leading men of the village to call on them personally, to endeavour by words of persuasion and reasoning to get their consent and co-operation in his work. Till that is obtained he does not take the second step of going to the outskirts of the village and meeting his meek flock.

At times, in the very beginning, instead of promises of help and co-operation he receives simply abuses and insult. On one occasion when I had accompanied him the spot where purification was to take place lay in the Zemindari of some big Rajput landlords between whose ancestors and the preacher's home there were friendly relations of ages counting from the days of the first Moghul. At times of war the women and children of one family would often be sent off for protection and shelter to the other.

My husband's visit to these regions was not only the visit of an apostle for the uplift of the depressed but that of a scion of one of the friendly families of landlords whose claims to the hospitality of these were great.

But the reception that he met with was unique. Instead of words of welcome he was greeted with words of abuse and threat for daring to upset centuries-old family relationship in this way by coming on his lands to disgrace him by making his untouchable tenants touchable.

His loud-voiced words of anger and abuse gathered an enormous crowd on the spot. The ladies of the family dared not take me inside the house but with veils drawn over their faces flocked to the roof and watched me silently waiting in the tonga. My husband bore everything patiently. But I had come to the end of my tether. Only a couple of hours ago before entering this village when our Brahman servant had gone to draw water out of a well for us to drink, the villagers had belaboured him and the tonga which I was in had to be guarded well for fear of attack and removed quickly out of reach, my husband keeping up the rear on horseback. All this trouble was due to the news which had gone ahead that the friend of the depressed was coming to give them human rights. After more than an hour's waiting in the zemindar's compound, with my ears burning with the abuses and threats of exchange of swords even with my husband, when the younger members of the family pressed me to enter the house and make myself comfortable. I called my husband to my side and said, "Let us go away from here, let us go to any poor villager's house. I will not take the food offered by these people."

My husband replied—"It will be the greatest blunder to leave at this juncture. Have patience. Here we must stay, accept the hospitality of this very man and bring him round to the cause. If we leave this minute we estrange him and his family from the cause for ever. To-morrow he will come to his senses and will apologise to you and to me. The younger people are all with us. You go inside the house. I will win him over".

So he did. By the evening the man was all contrition and did not know how to show his face. The next morning with the aid of his men and money the purification of his untouchable tenants was performed triumphantly.

With the approach of the master the shaving of the men begins. The women simply bathe and put on new clothes. Then follows the initiation

or the purification as it is called by fire and by the Gayatri Mantra. The Guru addresses them and the audience of the higher castes who are assembled to witness the ceremony. He exhorts the latter to receive their brethren with open arms when purified. The mantra of *Omkar* is given to the former. The forest resounds with the long-drawn many times repeated sound of Om—Om—Om. After taking the vow of clean-living and clean-thinking and pouring in his libation to the fire the hour before human-shaped soulless animal rises up at the command of the teacher metamorphosed into a full-fledged human being, with a distinctly perceptible light of the soul shining in his features. The high caste men of the village take sweetmeats offered by his hands, lead him to the village well and permit him to draw water out of it. The body with its newly possessed soul quivers at the unexpected indulgence and hesitates for a moment; but the fraternal encouragement of the whole village community gives him heart and led by the Guru he walks up the steps of the well and pulls the rope. His centuries-old disabilities are removed by this one act, his self-respect is restored to him and his sense of humanity completed. For though a Sudra still, he is no longer untouchable, his touch pollutes no more.

At several centres several schools for the education of these purified men have been started; but as separate schools imply the keeping alive the spirit of aloofness of the higher castes these schools are tentative measures only to be merged into general schools as soon as their touchableness and fitness for association are more widely accepted.

Next to the depressed classes the women's cause is claiming the greatest measure of the Punjab's attention in the present days. Primary schools for girls are being started everywhere though not with quite satisfactory equipments. Middle schools and high schools are rare. The

Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Jullandhar and the Sikh Kanya Mahavidyalaya of Ferozpur are two model institutions, each founded and maintained by the sacrifice and devotion of a handful of men and women. Both these institutions have widows' homes as their annex. In Lahore there is a widows' school on a small scale, but no widows' home. The idea of the education of married women other than widows took root in the Punjab through the efforts of the Bharat Stri Mahamandal, Lahore branch. At the outset it had to confront a hard wall of opposition. Where younger women were agreeable to receive instructions older women mocked them out of it by remarking—"Old parrots to take to learning! After you cats and dogs will do the same!" But by several years' steady endeavour to popularise the idea we have succeeded in establishing it and now there are requisitions from every nook and corner to supply teachers for married women. If only our funds would permit we could change the warp and woof of modern illiterate Punjab womanhood and show quite a new texture. At present the committees of several girls' schools are attaching to their respective schools, classes for married women.

The Bharat Stri Mahamandal also attempted to educate the women to ideas of cleanliness and sanitation by urging the pupils and teachers to try to keep their notoriously dirty lanes clean.

The society for the promotion of scientific knowledge has of late been trying to give some ideas of sanitation and the knowledge of care of babies to poor women by providing free nurses for them.

The same society generally arranges lectures on different subjects for both men and women. The executive body of the Lahore Museum provides magic lantern lectures for women every winter.

The old indigenous modes of moral, religious and national instruction by *Katha* are still largely in use in the Punjab. Unfortunately men and

women of new light do not avail themselves of it.

There are two small Hindu orphanages in Lahore and one big one in Ferozpur. Industrial training is given in these orphanages as well as general education.

The only People's Library in the Punjab is the Dyal Singh Library—the gift of the greatest Punjabi patriot of the modern times. The founding of the daily English organ "Tribune" and laying by a large amount of money for its maintenance in trust is another of the social services of this great man.

The last but not the least item of social service to be mentioned is that to which Mr. Gandhi lays the greatest stress, viz., making Hindi the common tongue. The Arya Samaj has been working at it for the past forty years. It has out-Gandhied Gandhi in this matter. For in its strenuous efforts to make Hindi the one common language for all Indians, it has stifled Punjabi in the Punjab with the result that within the zone of Arya Samajic influence the Punjabi woman and child speak Punjabi, think in Punjabi, draw in feelings with the mother's milk in Punjabi, but read, write and address in both Hindi and thus make no real intellectual or emotional progress. The course adopted by the Sikhs is a wiser one. In Sikh schools Punjabi is the medium of instruction and Hindi is the compulsory second language only. The Punjabi Arya Samajist is trying to evolve from outside within and the Punjabi Sikh from within outward. The Arya Samajist is developing the national ideal imposed on his mind by an outsider—Swami Dayanand Saraswati of Gujarat; the Sikh is concentrating on the ideals of great men of the soil—the ten Gurus and their followers. Hence the language and the character fancied by the Arya Samajist are the foreign Hindi and the *Devanagari* and those patronised by the Sikh are Punjabi's own Punjabi and the *Gurmukhi*.—Address to the All-India Social Service Conference.

THREE POLITICAL PIONEERS

BY

MR. A. S. RAJAM, B.A., (HONS.)

IN the electric speed of our later days, we are only too apt to under-value the endeavours and achievements of a race of men who with none of our advantages could yet have the heart to dare and the eye of faith to look into the distant and the unseen. But theirs is the greater genius and the grander achievement. We are only the inheritors whatever may be our own contribution to augment the heritage. Writing of a pioneering spirit in English Literature, Thomas Carlyle said in words which *mutatis mutandis* are applicable to the three pioneers whose work, it is the object of this article to consider in the light of their public utterances. Thomas Carlyle said :—

Let it not be objected that he did little. He did much considering when and how. If the work performed was small, we must remember that he had his very materials to discover; for the metal he worked in lay hid under the desert moor, where no eye but his had guessed its existence: and we may almost say, that with his own hand he had to construct the tools for fashioning it. For he found himself in deepest obscurity, without help, without instructions, without model; or with models only of the meanest sort. An educated man stands, as it were, in the midst of a boundless arsenal and magazine, filled with all the weapons and engines which man's skill has been able to devise from the earliest time, and he works accordingly with a strength borrowed from all past ages. How different is his state who stands on the outside of that storehouse, and feels that its gates must be stormed, or remain for ever shut against him! His means are the commonest and the rudest the mere work done is no measure of his strength. A dwarf behind the steam engine may remove mountains, but no dwarf will then mow down with a pickaxe, and he must be a Titan that hurls them abroad with his arms.

To this class belong undoubtedly the late Sir William Wedderburn, the Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Babu Surendranath Banerjee.

I

Sir William Wedderburn* was connected with India for more than half a century. For nearly twenty-five years he served the country

* Sir William Wedderburn's Speeches and Writings selected by himself. Clothbound. Price Rs. 3.0.0. To subscribers of the "Indian Review" Rs. 2.8.0. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

as an official. His enlargement of mind is remarkable considering his long official career in a country where officialism has been at its worst. Burke said that habits of office give one a turn to think that the substance of business is not much more important than the forms in which they are conducted. "These persons who are nurtured in office" he added "do admirably well, so long as things go on in their common order, but when the high roads are broken up and the waters out, when a new and troubled scene is opened, and the file affords no precedent, then it is that a greater knowledge of mankind and far more extensive comprehension of things is requisite than ever office gave or than office can ever give." Sir William was a signal exception to this rule. Though of the Civil Service, he had none of the oligarchic narrowness characteristic of that class. His official experience gave him, on the other hand, knowledge of the inner springs of Government and he could talk on Indian affairs without being charged of being an irresponsible political agitator. So far indeed was he from becoming officialised that he could ask, "Who can reasonably expect officials to love economy, which means reduction of their own salaries; or reform, which means restriction of their authority?" (Cheers and Laughter) (P. 4).

All this was due to a native amplitude of mind, and to his instinctive benevolence. But he had other reasons to take up the cause of India and fight it in the face of scorn and obloquy. He had faith in the people of India in spite of their faults. He had known them and loved them. He once quoted with approval the words of Akbar the Great, on the Hindus:—

What did the great Akbar say of them? "The Hindus are religious, affable, cheerful, lovers of justice, able in business, admirers of truth, grateful and of unbounded fidelity; and their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle."

"That was true then and was true now." (P. 130). No Englishman knew the Indian ryot better. He often used to say that "if the peasant had fairplay, he would develop into a substantial yeoman instead of being the starveling he is." Gratitude to India deep and fervent, was a principal ingredient of Sir William's love for her. He said in 1889 in words which have become historic :

I will mention this one fact that I have passed a quarter of a century among you, and during that period have not known what it was to suffer an unkindness from a native of India. During that period I have been in the service of the people of India and eaten their salt (loud and continued cheering). And I hope to devote to their service what still remains to me of active life. (P. 1).

Sir William was a friend of the masses. He knew their hunger and suffering and was moved to compassion which has expressed itself in almost every page of his speeches and writings :

He asked once what can be a more piteous figure than the agricultural labourer of India—landless and untaught

Bowed with the weight of centuries, he leans

Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,

The emptiness of ages in his face,

And on his back the burden of the world ?

These are only a few examples of Sir William's vigilant and sturdy championship of the cause of India. His speeches are a record of the strenuous life of a noble Englishman, who was engaged in fifty years of up-hill work and was the very salt of the earth. Difficulties he had, but he never doubted. He said to himself in the words of the poet :

"March with your face to the light ; put in the sickle and reap."

II

Sir Dinshaw Eduljee Wacha* is another of these workers. His association with public life dates roughly from the beginning of the National Congress in the first session of which he took part. He is an instance—rather rare in India—of a business man achieving eminence as a politician.

* Sir Dinshaw Wacha's Speeches and Writings, selected by himself. Price Rs. 3-0-0. To subscribers of the "I. R." Rs. 2-8-0. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Mr. Wacha is one of the best statisticians we have had in this country. He is a non-official expert in finance, and he hardly talks without formidable arrays of statistics. His interest in commerce and economics has been profound and in a speech addressed to the students of the Fergusson College, he urged the need for Commercial Education on a scientific basis for instruction in

the mechanism of money and exchange, the intricacies of banking and currency, the significance of imports and exports and of the balance of trade, the true meaning of debtor and creditor country, the puzzles of fire and marine insurance, the practical working of life insurance and endowments and old age pensions, of railway and sea freight, of canal irrigation and navigation, of trusts and monopolies, of docks and harbours, of tolls and octroi, of municipalisation of gas, waterworks, tramways and other great civic works.....etc. etc.

Two years later, he addressed the Bombay Graduates Association on the Science of Commerce. The address which is conceived in the best style of Sir Dinshaw makes a forceful plea for the study of the science of commerce, as that would lead more than anything else to the moral and material prosperity of the country. He maintains in it that Germany became prosperous within thirty years "because of German commerce based on scientific education." It is interesting to notice that in his enthusiasm for commerce and economics he does not depreciate literary studies. He is much of a scholar himself and his writings and speeches even on dry and "dismal" subjects are reminiscent of his literary studies. He could therefore say with confidence that those who deny or disparage the value of literary education in priority to scientific and technical education "are a bigoted and benighted fraternity crying in the wilderness."

The volume contains highly informative speeches and writings on various other subjects of finance. Those on Railway Finance and Indian Military Expenditure as also some of the speeches to the Mill Owners' Association deserve to be widely read, not only as the views of a thoughtful and original mind but also as the revelation of the

labours of another worker who, while yet diving in our midst, has been in the field from the very earliest days of our political life.

The speeches in the end of the volume on the Civil Service question illustrate the impatience of an old fighter who finds that whole generations of toil have effected little or no reform. The first Congress in 1885 discussed the question with great warmth and demanded the well-known reforms with the utmost decisiveness. The march of years has seen so little improvement that one is not surprised to see Mr. Wacha losing patience in the Council in 1917. He asked after answering some objections :—

Where is the difficulty ? I do not see any at all, Sir. It is the case, that when there is a selfish interest to be preserved and conserved, difficulties always arise ; red herrings are drawn across the path and this is one of the red herrings which the Honourable Home Member has brought forward to-day (P. 483).

Referring in the same speech to the " Brahman and non-Brahman " argument, he said :—

There is the Charter Act which lays down clearly that proved merit and ability shall be the only qualification for the public service There it is laid down that there shall be no governing caste in India. Where is the governing caste ? The governing caste is the Civil Service. They are the governing caste and yet the Brahman is denounced (P. 485).

But this is only one instance of Mr. Wacha as a fighter. For over thirty years he has been actively engaged in company with others of equal eminence in the regeneration of his country, many of his comrades have fallen. The loss of Gokhale and Mehta were the severest he had to endure :

" To me, the shock, coming as it does in the autumn of my life, has been so great that I feel dazed. It is impossible to realise the loss which the motherland has sustained by the death of her three sterling sons. I seem to hear all around convulsive sobs and grievous moans " (P. 468). But this was only when the shock was recent, when the world grew dark at the blow. Mr. Wacha is as optimistic now as ever and though one misses in him the ardour of the vehemence of later workers, his patience and hopefulness in

spite of a hundred defeats make him an asset of immense value to the cause of Indian progress.

III

Babu Surendranath Banerjee* has ever been a commanding figure in Indian politics. He commenced his political work while yet very young in conjunction with Ananda Mohon Bose in the seventies of the last century. By temperament and gifts, Surendranath is a fighter. His powers of oratory have not been transcended by any Indian so far, and no less a critic than Mr. Nevinson said that his was the oratory which Cicero loved to practise. Babu Surendranath uses the grand style in speaking—a style which has unluckily become obsolete. Mr. Nevinson said that he used with assurance and effect a style such as no Englishman since Gladstone could venture on for fear of drowning himself in the gulfs of bathos. His maddening eloquence has been his most powerful instrument of service and for the last forty years and more it has been dedicated to the nation.

His political life is part of the history of the last half a century. He began public life while yet young and when the whole country lay benumbed, devoid of vigour, hope and aspiration. Inspired by the study of western literature and history, and by the greatness of his race in the past, he set himself to the arduous task of rousing the youth of Bengal. The rise of the young is a distinctive feature of every renaissance. Mr. Banerjee as educationist and politician has ever been the idol of the young.

Mr. Banerjee has been perhaps the most successful of our political orators. He has been on many deputations, and the meetings of protest in which he voiced popular feeling are innumerable.

* Surendranath Banerjee's Speeches and Writings. Selected by himself. Price Rs. 3. To Subscribers of the " Indian Review " Rs. 2-8. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

He has placed India's claims before the British democracy in a number of brilliant speeches of which the first at Finsbury is a masterpiece (P. 301).

His speeches on the Vernacular Press Act (P. 232) and Government and Municipalities (P. 274) are excellent examples of his hold on facts and his gifts of forcible and persuasive exposition. He has been a useful member of the Local and Imperial Legislative Councils, and his Council speeches, though not of the class of Gokhale's or Mehta's, are yet fearless in their advocacy of popular rights. Opposing the Defence of India Act, he said in words which subsequent events have amply justified:—

I hope and trust that it will not be a weapon in the hands of the enemies of Indian advancement for the purpose of blasting those prospects and frustrating those hopes which have been roused in our hearts by the loyal devotion of our countrymen consecrated by their blood on the battlefields of Europe. (P. 190).

Mr. Banerjee has been ardently advocating the cause of self-government for many years. Indeed almost all the resolutions on the subject in the various sessions of the Congress have been moved by him and in the last four Congresses he has spoken on the question with considerable force and eloquence. This is as it should be, for he has had the greatest share in stimulating political feeling in Bengal and became in the days after the Partition, the most powerful mouth-piece of the new feeling. It has been a principle of faith with him that nations by themselves are made. "Enlist on your behalf all the sympathy you can of Englishmen and Englishwomen of the civilised world; but bear in mind you and you alone are the final arbiters of the Motherland" (P. 136). But Surendranath has had an unchanging faith in Britain. This is characteristic in a special measure of all the earlier utterances of our political life. The elder publicists spoke of the

sense of British justice with touching repetition. Surendranath has ever hailed England as the august mother of free nations and his view of England's sway over India in future is put forth with remarkable clearness in two of his perorations (pp. 110 and 111) and (pp. 316 and 317).

Space forbids further analysis of the speeches of these three distinguished publicists. They are important as a record of their life and work. They are valuable as careful and authoritative studies of public questions. Nor can their historical value be minimised. But they are specially valuable as a record of pioneering work. It is true that all three of them have lived to see the coming of better times. But when they began their work in the early years, things lay in shapeless masses. The goal was veiled in the distant future, the methods of work were undefined, the weapons of warfare were the crudest and the most inadequate. They could yet work on undaunted, laying stone by stone, with a patience and hope truly heroic. The goal of their lives is at last nearer than they once expected. When they began they knew that it would not be theirs to reach the promised land. But they believed in it, and never doubted their destiny. As Mr. Banerjee himself once said of workers who had preceded him, three illustrious men remind one of the "Spanish Students" of Longfellow. The man of genius finds around him—

All the means of action
The shapeless masses—the materials.

Footsore and weary he comes, and with the charcoal writes upon the wall. And behold! the letters gleam at the magic of his touch,

All its hidden virtues shine,
It gleams like a diamond.

THREE SOCIAL WORKERS

[These studies of the three well-known social workers have been condensed considerably from more elaborate sketches prepared for the 'Biographies of Eminent Indians Series.' Even in this abbreviated form the studies reveal the extraordinary difficulties with which pioneer social reformers in India have had to contend and the way in which they have succeeded in overcoming obstacles with their spirit of indomitable energy and generous humanity. The common feature of their social work is the truly religious spirit in which they have tackled the two urgent demands of the Indian Society—the emancipation of women and the elevation of the so-called untouchable Classes. Ed. "I.R."]

I. SASIPADA BANERJI

BY

MR. B. N. MOTIWALA, B.A., LL.B., J.P.

Banerji was born in the year 1840 of a Kulin Brahman family at Baranagar (the suburb of Calcutta). He was the third son of Rajkumar Banerji, a public-spirited man of the place, one of the founders of the first English School there. Rajkumar Master, by that name he was known in his days, died when Sasipada was only five years old. Young Banerji was brought up by his mother, a woman of strong common sense, though without the advantages of what we understand as education in these days. She died of cholera in the year 1863. Banerji went through the usual Pathshala and High School courses, but on account of the straitened circumstances of the family, had to leave his school before passing the Matriculation Examination. For years, Banerji served as a teacher in the Salkia School. Till the year 1870 he was a man of limited means struggling with difficulties. Then he obtained a Government post and had a large income. For the manifold services rendered by Banerji, the Pandits of Bhatpara decorated him with the title of Sevabrata. In 1868 the Government appointed him an Honorary Magistrate and an Honorary Secretary of the Municipal Board.

1.—SOCIAL REFORM

Baranagar, the birth-place of Banerji, is a native manufacturing town and a seat of European factories. It has several mills and workshops; and as such, forms the residence of a very large number of working classes. Naturally, therefore, Banerji found out his sphere of philan-

thropic work first among these people. On the 1st of November 1866, he established there a night school for the benefit of these people, and after a time succeeded in starting its branches at some of the neighbouring places. He also started a Middle Vernacular School for them near Serampur. In 1870 the old Temperance Society was closed and it was converted into a "Working-men's Club"—the first of its kind in India. Total abstinence was laid down as an absolute condition for its membership. A small library was attached to this club. The members were given the benefit of addresses of a moral and practical nature by sympathetic visitors of the club. Banerji himself gave useful discourses in this club. It held its meetings at the houses of its members; and thus the members' wives, mothers and sisters were made to take interest in them. Many of the members joined the Sadharan Dharma Sabha, (Universal Religious Association) started by Banerji in 1873. For the benefit of the female members of the working classes, Banerji convened meetings at his own house, where he gave lantern-lectures and entertained the workers in different ways. This club advised its members to put a stop to strikes as far as possible. The members were exhorted to work and look to the interest of their masters; and at the same time, to present their grievances to their employers in a proper way. The members were entertained by means of lantern-lectures, exhibitions of pictures

and musical and singing parties. They were taught the value of thrift and self-help. Banerji even started an "Anna Savings Bank" for receiving the deposits of his poor friends at a time when there was no Post Office Savings Bank. Later on, he persuaded the Government to open a Savings Bank in Baranagar, just as they had done in district headquarters and their sub-divisions. In 1874 he started a monthly paper of purely educational interest. This illustrated Bengali paper of 8 pages was called *Bharat Samajibi* (*Indian Workman*). It was published with the object of improving the moral and intellectual condition of the working classes. 15,000 copies of the paper were printed, a very large number for those days and each was sold for one pice. Banerji also helped the cause of these classes in his weekly paper called the *Baranagar Samachar*. His work was not confined only to Hindu working classes. In 1872 he established a school for Mahomedan boys of the working classes. But besides this work for the Baranagar people, Banerji did something for the people of Calcutta too. He opened two night schools there one at the City College and the other at the Keshub Academy. He also established two Day Pathshalas for the children of the working classes. In 1866 Banerji started a society called The Social Improvement Society and reared it with his usual indefatigable energy. It did useful work in literary and educational lines. It also helped the people in general matters. In this society useful lectures were delivered. It assisted the local vernacular school and girls' schools. It co-operated with the Magistrate of the Twenty-Four Parganas, and the Municipal Committee. It did all this useful work in spite of its very limited annual income. Banerji was the soul of this society. Owing to his advanced views in several social and religious matters the progress of the society was much retarded; this was so only during the

time that Banerji was not its secretary. The enemies of Banerji ultimately saw their mistake and henceforward treated Banerji fairly. During Banerji's visit to England, he read at Leeds, before the education section of the Social Science Association, a paper strongly advocating the introduction of a Factory Act in India. To value his services for the working classes truly, suffice it to mention that the members of the Working men's Club openly testified in the public address they presented to Banerji, on the eve of his departure for England, to the valuable influence exercised on them by their Club and by the personal work of its founder whom they styled in the address as "our father." In the city of Bristol, on the 31st of October 1871, the Lewin's Mead Domestic Mission presented to Banerji, a handsomely bound Bible and gave him a welcome address in which they appreciated his most valuable services for the Indian working classes. In this address, they styled Banerji as the first Indian to recognize and work in a practical spirit for the realization of the brotherhood of man, by devoting his time and talents to the raising up of the despised and the down-trodden masses of India.

When the Depressed Classes Mission was started in and around Bombay, Banerji helped it with a donation of Rs. 200, thus testifying his keen appreciation of this noble type of service to the down-trodden classes of a province different from his own. For his Baranagar work Banerji has left some money in the hands of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj as a permanent fund for the propagation of practical religion and morality among the working people.

2.—EMANCIPATION OF HINDU WOMEN

Banerji married a young Brahman girl of his own choice from a strictly orthodox family in the year 1860. Banerji being a Kulin Brahman could have got, in this marriage transaction, a large dowry, but he declined to entertain such sordid considerations in

so solemn a transaction. His zeal as a reformer seriously thinking as to how he should justify his existence by proving himself of service to his had already made his position in his ancestral home quite a solitary one; and after his marriage, it became more galling. Banerji had married in order to find in his wife a sincere and active sympathiser, inspirer and co-worker. But to bring about this magic change in an uneducated girl brought up in a strictly orthodox family and that too, in his home, became to him a matter of extreme difficulty. He set at naught the family custom and commenced teaching his wife in his own home during the day. This made his position a queer one; but it made that of his wife a regular trial. She submitted to all the persecution and ridicule that was heaped upon her in consequence. She quietly proceeded with her studies, for the sake of the love she bore towards her husband. In a few months' time, she made considerable progress. This attracted his widowed sister-in-law (brother's wife) and she too became Banerji's pupil. After a short time she too considerably advanced, and then his cousin and her widowed daughter Kusum Kumari joined. The other members of the family saw the result with their own eyes. The paternal home became gradually a place where both the unmarried girls and the elderly married women along with the widows, commenced to taste the fruits of education. The class of girls was taken up by Mrs. Banerji and the class of elderly ladies was conducted by Banerji himself. Ultimately Banerji started a girls' school at his native town of Baranagar for the benefit of his family and also for the good of the neighbouring families. This school was started in 1865 and was under the charge of a pandit and was mainly supported by Banerji himself. It continued its progress for some time; but a crisis came when Banerji openly joined the faith of the Brahmos. The Pandit was instigated to resign. The parents of

the girls were persuaded not to send their daughters to Banerji's school. To crown all, even the landlady caused Banerji to vacate the school-premises. These difficulties could not subdue the pertinacity of purpose in Banerji. He secured another teacher at once; hired a new place on a lease of one year and continued the school for some time, with only one pupil to study in it. He then had recourse to the system of every day giving dolls and other prizes to the pupils who attended his school; he even gave a sort of commission to the maid seryant, in charge of the school-premises for every new pupil brought to the school by her influence. With these methods he succeeded in overcoming all obstacles; and in the year 1866, when a prize distribution gathering was held under the presidentship of Prof. Lobb, the school had on its roll 57 pupils.

Banerji's social services consisted, besides these, in the most active part he took in befriending the cause of the poor Hindu widows, who had to conform against their faith and inclination to the austerities imposed upon them by orthodoxy. Even when he was fifteen years old, his heart greatly rejoiced when he heard that the Widow Marriage Act was passed into law.

After he had left his ancestral house, he built one for himself at Baranagar. There his cousin sister Bidhumukhi and her widowed daughter Kusum Kumari came to live with him. Kusum was married at the early age of five and she became a widow a year after. Both the mother and daughter were educated by Banerji and they came to feel the terrible position of widows in Hindu society. In 1868 Banerji brought about the re-marriage of Kusum with Babu Chandranath Chaudhri, by their mutual consent, and after the death of the first wife of Chandranath. Chandranath was an educated, well-to-do young man of the age of 26; and Kusum was at that time fifteen years old. This was a "pratilom"

marriage, as the bride was of Brahman family and the bridegroom was by caste a Sadgop, a caste corresponding to the ancient Vaisya caste, but lower than the three castes of Brahman, the Vaidya, and the Kayastha, the three foremost castes in the Bengali Hindu community. The persecution which Banerji had to undergo, while bringing about this marriage, was simply tremendous.

Banerji did not rest with the marriage of his widow niece. In fact, ever since the re-marriage of his niece, his home became a refuge for many a helpless and destitute widow "a miniature Widows' Home," so to speak, long before he had made any organized efforts to establish one.

Besides the help thus rendered to particular widows, Banerji, on the death of his first wife, in the year 1877 married a widow himself by way of setting a practical example. He kept up for many years an agitation in the country in favour of the cause of widow remarriage, through the distribution of pamphlets and leaflets and by means of writing articles in different periodicals.

In 1887 he established a Home for Hindu widows. He decided to conduct his Home on orthodox lines with a view to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the orthodox leaders of the native community. In this Home, poor and helpless widows got food, clothing and education, free of charge. Most unfortunately this Home had to be closed owing to Banerji's old age; but not before Banerji and the Government had tried their best to secure a suitable successor to him. However, the very founding of such a Home, and the model lines on which it was conducted, did influence the starting of Widows' Homes like Pandita Ramabai's Sarada Sadan, Karve's Home and others of a similar nature at Mysore and other places.

3.—TEMPERANCE WORK

In the latter half of the nineteenth century,

drunkenness in Bengal was more prevalent and obtrusive than it is to-day. To cure this evil, several prominent Indians and Englishmen like Keshab Chandra Sen, Pyari Charan Sarkar, Rev. Dall, Rev. Paine and others worked very zealously. Banerji too joined this noble band of workers. Perceiving the bad effects caused by drink on his native town he established on the 27th March 1864, a Temperance Society at Baranagar. This was one of the oldest temperance organizations of India. After a short time Banerji was appointed its Honorary Secretary and as such, he took very keen interest in its welfare. But like other workers in the field of temperance reform, he did not rest content with mere preaching and writing. He deemed it essential that in this kind of work as in others, personal work—work by persons on persons was essential, if the work had to produce tangible results. He organized a "Band of Hope"—a union of boys pledged to temperance principles and assisted that body with his usual energetic work. He established, in connection with the Temperance Society, a Temperance Library, the expenses of which were mostly borne by him and circulated books and pamphlets therefrom among those likely to benefit by their perusal. Banerji delivered lectures on Temperance in the night school established by himself. In 1870 this Temperance Society changed into a Working Men's Club. When Banerji went to England he was warmly welcomed at all the towns he visited. There too, he gave temperance lectures and received addresses showing Englishmen's sympathy towards such work. There he joined the Good Templars body and was initiated as a member of the Order at the Day Star Lodge, Bristol, on 14th July, 1871. At Baranagar he has reclaimed hundreds from the paths of intemperance and vice.

4.—RELIGIOUS REFORM

In the case of Banerji's life it will be seen

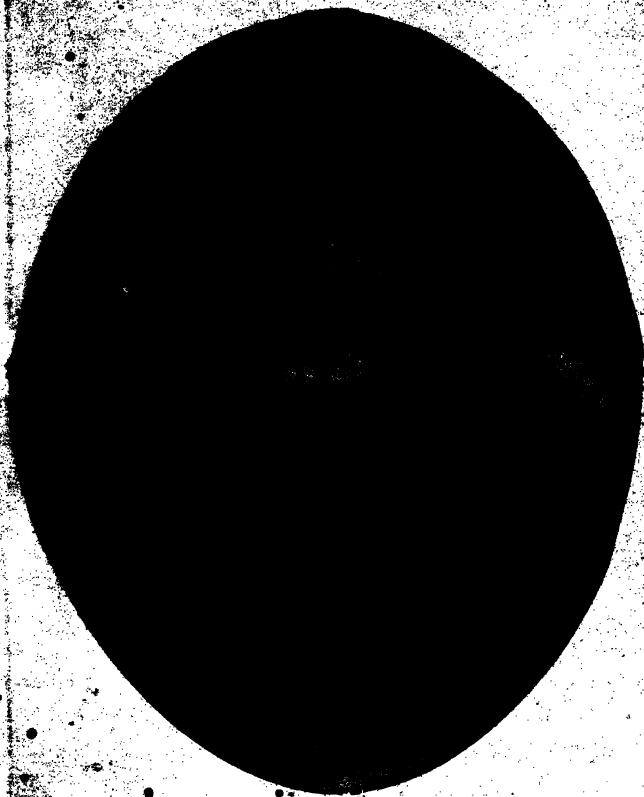
clearly that his religious life translated itself into human service; and that his social service was ennobled and inspired by all the accredited means of spiritual culture, viz., prayer, solitude, meditation, devotional reading, etc.

Banerji's house was thronged by people of all religious denominations. He himself took part in the religious services of all kinds and sorts of people. He joined the *Sankirtans* of the working classes. He had a wonderfully tolerant mind. It appears that his liberal faith owes its origin very likely to his belief that truth is universal, however it may be conceived in different forms suited to different countries. The common element of all religion is a changing, ever-increasing thing, and therefore it is discerned more and more clearly as the devotees advance in their spiritual perception. Banerji was brought up in an orthodox family who firmly believed in polytheism. Yet on his twentieth birth day, he gave clear evidence of the liberal cast of his mind, when he made the family Guru change the usual mantra into a theistic one of *Anando Brahmeti* from the *Bhriḡu Valli* of the Taittiriya Upanishad. Once, on hearing a stirring religious discourse of Keshava Chandra Sen, he made up his mind to openly join the Brahmo faith. He gave up caste, idolatry and the sacred thread. All these were the marks of orthodoxy and their open discarding by Banerji kindled the wrath not only of the members of his own family but of the whole town of Baranagar. He was persecuted to death. This indignation grew into intense hatred by Banerji's religious zeal in bringing about the re-marriage of his widowed niece Kusum Kumari. Yet he never budged an inch from his own principles. He steadfastly carried out his duties in a religious spirit, until at last opposition itself died out. He reigned supreme as formerly in the hearts of his countrymen. Banerji always called himself a reformed Hindu. In his various philanthropic

activities he always adhered to his religious convictions; but they being very liberal, he always utilized the forces of orthodoxy to minister to the needs of the public. His Widows' Home at Baranagar was conducted by him on orthodox lines, and hence it was a success. When Banerji's failing health forced him to give up his work, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj did not take up the work as it entailed conducting the Home on orthodox lines. Banerji's liberal Hinduism had several peculiar features. It was distinctively practical. He attached great importance to prayer. Prayer has been his strength and refuge throughout his life, public and private.

In 1873, in a place popularly called "Sasi Babu's Hall" built mainly at Banerji's expense and partly by subscriptions gathered mostly from friends in England, Banerji founded the Sasipada Institute, for "the diffusion of useful knowledge and doing other good and charitable work in and around Baranagar." To this Institute, he has given away his own private Library and Museum. He also presented funds for the maintenance and improvement of the Sadharan Dharma Sabha.

The last work of Banerji for the service of humanity is the Devalaya. It was founded on the 1st of January 1908 at Calcutta. It is but the resuscitation of his old Sadharan Dharma Sabha in a modern garb and on a permanent footing. Devalaya, we quote from the trust deed, is an association "for devotional exercises, and for literary, scientific, philanthropic and charitable works. It aims at the promotion of religious devotion and the establishment of unity, brotherly feeling and mutual co-operation among the various communities of the country without any surrender of their respective peculiar doctrines and practices." The founder of this Devalaya—Banerji—has made over to the public his own dwelling house in Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, by a trust deed. There are more than 1,200 members of Devalaya, and they belong to different communities and different faiths. Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Brahmos, Arya Samajists, Buddhists, Theosophists and others are all included on the roll of this new universal church. In this House of God, every day the faithful of various creeds meet for worship.



MR. SASIPADA BANERJI



SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR



PROF. D. K. KARVE

II. SIR N. G. CHANDAVARKAR

869

BY

MR. K. SANJIVA KAMATH, B.A., B.L.

§ IR. Narayan G. Chandavarkar comes from a respectable family belonging to the Samyukta Gowd Saraswat community. He was born in Honawar, a seaport town in North Canara, in 1855.

Sir Narayan, after some home education, joined the English school in his district. In 1869 he went to Bombay where he joined the Elphinstone College in January, 1873. In this college the remarkable talents of the young man soon became visible and he was the happy recipient of many honours open to a student in those days. He carried away "the Rajah of Dhar Prize" and another prize for an essay on "English monasteries and their dissolution." In 1877 he passed the B.A. degree examination in the first class and won the "James Taylor Prize" in recognition of which success he was appointed Junior Dakshina Fellow. The then principal of the college, Dr. Wordsworth was favourably impressed with the abilities and high moral character of Narayan and in a certificate granted by him to his pupil, he said that Mr. Chandavarkar was "remarkably painstaking and industrious," that "his original compositions were very distinctly above the average merit" and that he is "a person of considerable literary culture but singularly free from presumption or vanity."

Once out of the college, rich in academic honours, Mr. Chandavarkar took to journalism. In 1878 he was appointed to edit the English columns of the "Indu Prakash" which he did with considerable ability till 1889, the paper having acquired great reputation under his editorship. In 1881 Mr. Chandavarkar took the LL. B. degree in the first class, carrying the Arnold Scholarship for Hindu Law. He was in due course enrolled as a pleader of the High Court where he has had a most successful career. He confined his attention more to High Court work than to outside engagements. He had tempting offers of employment more than once, but he preferred to continue a free man.

Mr. Chandavarkar's freedom from the trammels of office was an event which was a source of great blessing to his country and an intelligent and patriotic young man as he was, he devoted his energies not only to the arid domain of law but also to the varied field of public affairs. When general English Parliamentary elections

were approaching in 1885, it was thought desirable by the great minds of this country, to send Indian representatives of repute and ability from the different presidencies to England, there to stir up the British democracy to a sense of their responsibility to India and to help and back up the election of those Englishmen whose sympathies towards our country were well known. The choice of Bombay Presidency fell upon the young brilliant Chandavarkar who in 1885 sailed for England together with his colleagues Messrs. Manmohun Ghose and Salem Ramaswamy Mudaliar, from the other presidencies. The oratorical abilities which Mr. Chandavarkar exhibited during this stumping tour in England surprised even his best friends and he was always listened to with respect and admiration by his British audiences.

This period in Mr. Chandavarkar's life was not wholly confined to political affairs. Sir Narayan is possibly known to the world more as a social reformer than as a political enthusiast. With many others he felt that the social organisations of this country required a great deal of immediate spade-work and overhauling and that sound and rapid political evolution of India was continually being hampered by caste bickerings and caste prejudices. From the beginning of his career he steadily set his face against the mammoth of social inequalities and it may be confidently asserted that his work has been a great deal successful. When the Age of Consent Act introduced in the Imperial Council in 1892 was before the public and enjoying a wide reputation of bitter criticism and opposition, Mr. Chandavarkar took his strong stand by it, because he felt that in matters affecting a whole nation, the Government had every right to interfere and it was suicidal to bar the gates of Government authority and sanction against the social reformation of Indian society.

Mr. Chandavarkar's abilities once well-known his services were requisitioned in every department of public life. He was made a Fellow of the Bombay University in 1886 by Lord Reay and in 1889 he was created a Justice of the Peace. The rate-payers of Girgaum returned him to the Bombay Corporation in 1888, where he rendered much useful service in regard to the location of

the cholera hospital in Khetwadi, a populous part of Bombay, and also in framing bye laws of the joint schools committee.

The years 1894-1896 were passed in comparative inactivity, although he continued to conduct services in the Prarthana Samaj, of which he has ever been the mainstay, and to lecture now and then on social reform. In 1896 Mr. Chandavarkar presided at the anniversary of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, when he delivered an address which was much appreciated. The same year he presided over the Provincial Conference held at Karachi and his address to that assembly was marked by his usual moderation and thought. In July 1897, during the regime of Lord Sandhurst, he was elected by the Bombay University to be its representative in the local Legislative Council and the election appears to have given general satisfaction in the Presidency. During his tenure as a member of the Legislative Council, Mr. Chandavarkar took an active part in connection with several important measures, such as the Police Bill, the Bombay District Municipalities Act and the Ghee Adulteration Act. Lord Sandhurst more than once expressed his high opinion of his services in the Council and Sir Charles Olivant, who was then judicial member of the Government, spoke of him in terms of praise. In 1899 he was re-elected a member of the Council. In December 1900, he presided at the Indian National Congress held in Lahore and delivered an Address that marked him as a first-rate moderate in politics. In January 1901, on the recommendation of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Lord Northcote, then Governor of Bombay, appointed him acting Judge at the High Court, *vice* Mr. Justice Ranade, when he went on furlough for six months. Mr. Ranade, however, died soon after and Mr. Chandavarkar was confirmed in his office. He was the first Pleader-Judge chosen to preside at the Criminal Sessions and at the Original Side of the High Court. Sir Narayan has made a close study of the original authorities on Hindu Law and his judgments based on the law are regarded as marked by careful research. His passion for it is unsurpassed and even up to the days of his retirement he would spend some time nearly every day with old Shastries or Pandits studying original Hindu Law books. Sir Lawrence Jenkins held him in high esteem and in one of his judgments said that he was always reluctant to differ from him and that he took the greatest care in trying cases.

And indeed, his judgments show a very close study of the decisions of the House of Lords and the Privy Council. Lord Northcote invited him to the Delhi Durbar as his guest. In 1909 he was appointed acting Chief Justice of Bombay when Sir Basil Scott went on privilege leave.

Sir Narayan's educational activities have been many and most beneficial. For many years he has been the President of the Students' Brotherhood which has done splendid work among the students of Bombay. Recognising his work in the student world and his interest in education, Lord Curzon appointed him the Bombay member of the Educational Commission in 1902 and in 1906 Sir George Clarke (now Lord Sydenham), appointed him Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University in succession to Dr. Selby.

Mr. Chandavarkar is a Brahmo by faith and a social reformer by conviction. He has advocated social reform both by precept and by example. He has no scruples of caste or creed and observes no racial distinction either in theory or in practice. He has been the general secretary to the Indian Social Reform Conference and is regarded as a leader of Social Reform movement throughout India. The education of women, the re-marriage of child-widows, the removal of caste restrictions on foreign travel are some of the subjects which have engaged his attention and he has delivered many thoughtful discourses on such topics.

Mr. Chandavarkar's activities have been extremely varied, but they were all inspired by his singular humanity. Every institution that aimed at raising the unhappy lot of man claimed and had his sympathy. He is connected with the Nursing Association of the Sir Jamssetjee Jeejeebhoy Hospital. He is a member of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Protection of Children and of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and Vice-President of the former body. He is the President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Sir Narayan's tenure as a judge came to a close in 1913 and he retired from service full of honours. During his twelve years of judgeship he had won the respect and admiration of all and his retirement was keenly felt both by the Bench and the Bar. Sir Narayan, though he retired from service, could not retire to well-deserved rest. His talents were requisitioned everywhere and the Maharajah of Indore was too glad to have him as his Prime Minister. Sir Narayan became the Dewan of Indore State in 1914 and he did a great deal in overhauling the administration of that

State. He actively promoted the cause of free elementary education and other reforms that were conducive to the welfare of the public. But circumstances were not altogether favourable and Sir Narayan resigned his post in October 1914 and has ever since remained free from trammels of office. Soon after he made a tour in the south and west coast of Madras Presidency and delivered many speeches. Sir Narayan has taken advantage of his freedom by devoting a great deal of time to the political affairs of his country. And the manifesto which appeared under the joint signatures of himself, Sir D. E. Wacha, Mr. N. M. Samarth and others when the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India, Mr. E. S. Montagu, was here, contains possibly the best exposition of the Congress-League scheme. His view on constitutional reforms is fully expressed in the foreword to Mr. G. A. Natesan's "What India Wants" which is reproduced below:

The present administration in India is virtually an administration of the Indian Civil Service, which is almost entirely composed of British officials. They are indeed capable and conscientious and have done good work; but they are the slaves of a system, which

makes the Service a close Service, wedded to red tape and routine, slow to discern and move with the times, jealous of outside and independent criticism and, owing to their comparative aloofness from Indian society, due to social and other causes, more or less out of touch with, because unable to find out, real Indian sentiment and public opinion. The result is that, in important matters affecting the Indian conditions, knowledge comes too late to the Service and to the Indian administration which it practically controls, too late, i.e., after things have gone wrong, public dissatisfaction has become acute and mischief has been done. Some of the best members of the Service have themselves admitted that

There can be no other way to remedy that serious defect of the system than to provide a constitution which shall make the administration primarily and at one end responsible to Indian public opinion, and finally, at the other end, to the British Parliament.

Though a moderate of moderates, Sir Narayan has not failed to lift up his voice, whenever necessary, against the unjust acts of the Government. He is a moderate through conviction and not through fear.

✠ The third of the social workers is Prof. D. K. Karve, the founder of the Hindu Women's University. Owing to delay in getting proof from the author, the sketch of his life has had to be withheld. [Ed. I.R.]

MR. GANDHI'S LETTER TO THE VICEROY

✠ R. M. K. Gandhi addressed the following letter to H. E. the Viceroy soon after the Delhi War Conference:—

Sir, as you are aware, after careful consideration, I felt constrained to convey to Your Excellency that I could not attend the Conference for reasons stated in the letter of the 26th instant (April), but, after the interview you were good enough to grant me, I persuaded myself to join it, if for no other cause than certainly out of my great regard for yourself. One of my reasons for abstention, and perhaps the strongest, was that Lok. Tilak, Mrs. Besant and the Ali brothers, whom I regard as among the most powerful leaders of public opinion, were not invited to the Conference. I still feel that it was a grave blunder not to have asked them, and I respectfully suggest that that blunder might be possibly repaired if these leaders were invited to assist the Government by giving it the benefit of their advice at the Provincial Conferences which, I understand, are to follow. I venture to submit that no Government can afford to disregard the leaders, who represent the large

masses of the people as these do, even though they may hold views fundamentally different. At the same time it gives me pleasure to be able to say that the views of all parties were permitted to be freely expressed at the Committees of the Conference. For my part I purposely refrained from stating my views, either at the Committee at which I had the honour of serving, or at the Conference itself. I felt that I could best serve the objects of the Conference by simply tendering my support to the resolutions submitted to it, and this I have done without any reservation. I hope to translate the spoken word into action as early as the Government can see its way to accept my offer, which I am submitting simultaneously herewith in a separate letter.

I recognise that in the hour of its danger we must give, as we have decided to give, ungrudging and unequivocal support to the Empire of which we aspire in the near future to be partners in the same sense as the Dominions Overseas. But it is the simple truth that our response is due to the expectation that our goal will be reached all the more speedily. On that account, even as the performance of duty automatically confers a

corresponding right, people are entitled to believe that the imminent reforms alluded to in your speech will embody the main general principles of the Congress-League scheme, and I am sure that it is this faith which has enabled many members of the Conference to tender to the Government their full-hearted co-operation. If I could make my countrymen retrace their steps, I would make them withdraw all the Congress resolutions and not whisper "Home Rule" or "Responsible Government" during the pendency of the War. I would make India offer all her able-bodied sons as a sacrifice to the Empire at its critical moment and I know that India, by this very act, would become the most favoured partner in the Empire and racial distinctions would become a thing of the past. But practically the whole of educated India has decided to take a less effective course, and it is no longer possible to say that educated India does not exercise any influence on the masses. I have been coming into most intimate touch with the raiyats ever since my return from South Africa to India, and I wish to assure you that the desire for Home-Rule has widely penetrated them. I was present at the sessions of the last Congress, and I was a party to the resolution that full Responsible Government should be granted to British India within a period to be fixed definitely by a Parliamentary Statute. I admit that it is a bold step to take, but I feel sure that nothing less than a definite vision of Home-Rule to be realised in the shortest possible time will satisfy the Indian people. I know that there are many in India who consider no sacrifice is too great in order to achieve the end, and they are wakeful enough to realise that they must be equally prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Empire in which they hope and desire to reach their final status. It follows then that we can but accelerate our journey to the goal by silently and simply devoting ourselves heart and soul to the work of delivering the Empire from the threatening danger. It will be a National suicide not to recognise this elementary truth. We must perceive that, if we serve to save the Empire, we have in that very act secured Home-Rule.

Whilst, therefore, it is clear to me that we should give to the Empire every available man for its defence, I fear that I cannot say the same thing about the financial assistance. My intimate intercourse with the raiyats convinces me that India has already donated to the Imperial Exchequer beyond her capacity. I know that, in making this statement, I am voicing the opinion of the majority of my countrymen.

The Conference means for me, and I believe for many of us, a definite step in the consecration of our lives to the common cause, but ours is a peculiar position. We are, to-day outside the partnership. Ours is a consecration based on hope of better future. I should be untrue to you and to my country if I did not clearly and unequivocally tell you what that hope is. I do not bargain for its fulfilment, but you should know that disappointment of hope means disillusion. There is one thing I may not omit. You have appealed to us to sink domestic differences. If appeal involves the toleration of tyranny and wrong—doings on the part of officials—I am powerless to respond. I shall resist organised tyranny to the uttermost. The appeal must be to the officials that they do not ill-treat a single soul and that they consult and respect popular opinion as never before. In Champaran by resisting an age-long tyranny, I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice. In Kaira a population that was cursing the Government now feels that it, and not the Government, is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is, therefore, losing its bitterness and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt. Thus Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the War. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life. If I could popularise the use of soul-force, which is but another name for love-force in place of brute force, I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season, therefore, I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering, and present it for acceptance to those who care, and if I take part in any other activity, the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law.

Lastly, I would like you to ask His Majesty's Ministers to give definite assurances about Muhammadan States. I am sure you know that every Muhammadan is deeply interested in them. As a Hindu I cannot be indifferent to their cause. Their sorrows must be our sorrows. In the most scrupulous regard for the rights of these States and for the Muslim sentiment as to the places of worship and in your just and timely treatment of Indian claim to Home Rule lies the safety of the Empire. I write this, because I love the English Nation and I wish to evoke in every Indian the loyalty of Englishman.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN AMERICA

BY

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THE American University is largely the product of American psychology, the result of American laws, traditions, and habits; but it will not be irrelevant to remember that the educational system of this country, for a long time, was under the paralyzing influence of English aristocratic traditions. College education was chiefly valued as a mark of social distinction. "The young man was sent to college," says Chancellor David Starr Jordan of the Leland Stanford University in the *Call of the Twentieth Century*, "that he might be a member of a gentler caste. His degree was his badge that in his youth he had the proper thing for a gentleman to do. It attested not that he was wise or good or competent to serve, but he was bred a gentleman among gentlemen." This is, in a nutshell, the ideal of the English system, which has now fallen into a disrepute. Germany gave America a much higher ideal—the ideal of thoroughness and sound scholarship. From this blend of German and English ideals, America evolved a newer, and a higher type of education. It concerns itself not merely with intellectual training, but with personal effectiveness, with service to the life of the world.

There are in the United States five hundred and sixty-seven universities and colleges. Now the terms "universities" and "colleges" are often used as synonymous; they are frequently confused and much abused. Almost any institution may call itself a university if it chooses. The college, however, is a small institution with a staff of "at least" half a dozen professors. They teach, as a rule, a four year course of liberal arts and sciences. The degrees granted by the college are B.A., B.S., Ph.B., and in some instances, M.A. The university, on the other hand, consists of a group of colleges. It includes the college proper, several specialized departments, and also professional schools and colleges, such as college of agriculture, commerce, dentistry, education, engineering, journalism, law, medicine, music, pharmacy, theology, and veterinary. At the top of all these is the Graduate College, which has grown out of the German philosophic faculty. The Graduate College is open to graduates of any university or college in good standing.

The post-graduate degrees are usually Master of Arts, Master of Science, Doctor of Philosophy, Doctor of Letters, and Doctor of Science.

For some time an earnest effort has been made to distinguish between a college and a university. To this end the Association of American Universities was started in about 1900. Already it has done much toward the standardization of American colleges and universities. At present the ranking members of the Association are the following universities: California, Catholic of America, Chicago, Clark, Columbia, Cornell, Harvard, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Kansas, Leland Stanford, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Yale.

In the early days when the American university was dominated by the English ideals, the curriculum was largely humanistic, linguistic. Now-a-days few red-blooded youths would want to put all their time learning Latin roots and Greek declensions. It seems that there is no great demand for general education on broad lines of liberal culture. "Fit our young people for life" is the cry of the new American. In response to this demand, America is placing increasing emphasis on practical and scientific, rather than classical or literary education. Among a large number of high-grade institutions, the following are the most prominent: Boston Institute of Technology, the Stevens Institute, the Troy Polytechnic, The Columbia School of Mines, and Lehigh University. An impartial investigation of the quality of work done at these institutions will convince even the most sceptical that in the study of science applied to practical ends the United States has gone far ahead of the rest of the world, excluding of course Germany. No wonder the wider spread of universal higher education does not inspire fear of "educated proletariat" in the mind of America as it does, for instance, in the minds of the English aristocrats in India.

Correspondence classes now form a regular part of the course in many of the leading universities. The correspondence instruction is designed to help those who are unable to pursue continuous study in residence. The work consists of a "systematic and progressive presenta-

tion of the subject" in a number of lessons. From time to time a series of questions and answers are mailed to a correspondence student. His papers are corrected and returned together with numerous helpful notes and comments. Sometimes books are also lent him from the university library. Correspondence courses are so worked out that they count in whole or in part towards the degree. The system, at its best, provides the maximum of personal attention. It easily accommodates itself to individual needs, and makes possible the turning of spare moments, or as the Belgian poet Maeterlinck said "hours of freedom," to best account. The University of Chicago, which has a strong Correspondence Study Department, provides courses of instruction in philosophy, psychology, education, political science, political economy, history, sociology, and many other subjects, numbering altogether forty-five. The Department has nearly thirty-five hundred correspondence students scattered in all parts of the world.

A striking feature of the educational system is that men and women are admitted on equal terms to most American public universities and colleges. There are, however, many separate institutions of a high type which are open only to women. Some of the largest and best known of these institutions are Vassar, Radcliffe, Bryn Mawr, Wellesley, Smith, and Barnard.

There is no uniform method of administration for college and university. As a rule, the administration is carried on through a governing board, which is frequently called the Board of Trustees or the Board of Regents. In the case of the State universities, the members of the board are chosen either by the State Governor, the legislature, or the people for a number of years. The actual management, however, is left almost entirely to its President. What interests an Indian most in the world of education is the complete emancipation of American education from strict governmental control. The college or the university is its own authority. It chooses its own text books, fixes upon the conditions of examinations, sets the question papers, passes upon the final merit of each candidate, and makes its own rules and regulations. The Government severely keeps its hands off educational institutions in their internal administration.

The teaching body of a reputable university is everywhere composed of Professors, Assistant Professors, Lecturers, Associates, Instructors, Teaching Fellows and Assistants. Only full professors are appointed for life, all others from

year to year. The salary which a full professor receives is about four times as large as that of an instructor. Unlike India and England, an institution in America needing a teacher does not try to get him through newspaper advertisement. Neither does a man looking for a position in a higher institution of learning send in an unsolicited application to its President. That would be considered a breach of academic decorum; it would tend to lower the standing of the candidate. The legend is that a "position should seek the man and not a man the position." Hence the President, who is supposed to know all the leading scholars of the country, appoints, with the approval of the administrative council, such men as he needs.

It is a pleasure to record that a member of the instructional staff is in no way guided or controlled by an authority outside its own corporation. True to his tradition of independence, he will not tolerate any infringement of thought and expression. He enjoys absolute freedom of teaching. No limitations whatever are placed on his efforts to encourage wide reading, free criticism, or independence of thought. After careful study and analysis of a problem the teacher and the student are free to tell the truth, even though that may be contrary to current ideas, even though it may hurt entrenched interests. It is only by maintaining such absolute academic freedom that American universities have been able to make so many of their significant contributions.

In all the higher institutions of learning, except small colleges, there is provided a wide range of courses. Students are free to choose for themselves what they shall study from a large and varied group of related subjects. The notion behind the elective system is that every branch of learning has an equal educative value; and that every course studied with equal earnestness will yield the same amount of good. A forward-thinking, forward-acting, university President would be ashamed to subject his students to the torture of a Procrustes couch. An amusing story is related of a President who prided himself on the extensive elective system of his university. "One morning a young student called on him, and asked to study Choctau, an obscure dialect of a little known Red-Indian tribe. "I am mighty sorry there is no department in our university that can teach Choctau this morning," replied the chief executive to the university, "but if you will be so good as to come again this afternoon we will organize one for you. Will you come?"

The uninitiated may jump to the conclusion that where there is no strictly prescribed curriculum, and students elect as they please, they will choose easy, "soft" courses. While it is possible that the elective system may at times be abused, that, however, is very rarely the case. Dullards, idlers, and loafers are astonishingly few. Moreover, students do not come to the university for mere diplomas, which have little market value. They attend an institution to learn what to study and how to study, what to think and how to think, what to do and how to do. By selecting studies according to their tastes and capacities, they arrive at intellectual development sooner than if they were forced to take subjects in which they are not interested. President Emeritus Charles W. Elliot of Harvard University, who did more for introducing the elective system in America than any other educationalist, has this to say in defense of the system:

"Elective system gives the student sense of responsibility. It is only under a regime of liberty that the individual can acquire that capacity for self-direction and self-control, and sense of responsibility for his control. An elective system does not mean liberty to do nothing. The amount of every student's work is prescribed, and its quality is tested by means of periodical examinations, essays, laboratory work, and frequent conferences between teacher and student."

In high school as well as in small college the class-room work consists mainly of questions and answers, of recitation of assigned lessons. Now the method of recitation from text book has become nearly extinct in university, with the exception, of course, of language instruction. In up-to-date universities, the lecture method and the laboratory method have everywhere been adopted. They require on the part of the students incessant reports, note-books, and discriminating note-taking.

How are students tested in the progress of scholarship? Perhaps my own method of conducting classes may be regarded as typical. Besides giving periodical examinations, I require my students to write long papers showing independent study and investigation. They seldom make any oral recitation, but they submit for examination note-books containing lecture notes as well as summaries of collateral readings from two or three books to be used simultaneously. I sometimes give my students questions a week or two before the day of examination. Then they go to the University

library and prepare themselves for the examination from a study of special list of books.

Most students have a definite plan for the use of their time. The following outline, furnished by one of our post-graduate students, may be regarded as a type:

For physical exercise	..	..	2 hours
For sleep	..	..	7 hours
For meals	..	..	2 hours
For amusement	..	..	1 hour
For newspapers and magazines	..	..	2 hours
For study	..	..	10 hours

24 hours

Discipline in a well-conducted American university is a negligible quantity. Here are no star-chamber methods,—everything is open and on the square. When a student violates the regulations of a university, it frequently turns him over to a representative student council, which after a fair trial may find it necessary to administer discipline. This is not done for punishment, but as sociologists would say, for "reform and moral growth."

Sir Rabindranath Tagore once told me that the chief defect of the Indian system of education is that there is no bond of fellowship between the students and their teachers, especially if they happen to be European. I have no doubt Tagore is right. In America, it is a delight to note, the relation between the teacher and the student is characterized by a spirit of touching sympathy and friendship. The professor honestly tries to put himself in the students' place, to get their points of view. And as a university President has said, "professors spare no pains to" hear with the students' ears, see with the students' eyes, and appreciate with the students' mind. "I venture to say that no American professor would be able to hold his position for three months if he tried to follow the example of that well-known London Bishop who had been in the habit of making three remarks to each caller. The first was "What's your name?" The second, "What do you want?" The third and last, "No."

The University life abounds in all sorts of literary, social, and artistic activities. It is an open question with me if a student sometimes does not get as much broad, liberal education by rubbing elbows with his fellow-students as by listening to class lectures. Indeed, the fellowship of like-minds is rich with blessings. Who, for instance, can estimate the value of the training which comes to a man from active participation in literary societies, debates, and oratorical

contests? I am persuaded that a careful study of the lives of American leaders of to-day, who were educated in the university, will reveal their early training and leadership in various university clubs and societies.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that in no other country are the higher institutions of learning so closely related to the life of the people. Every effort is being constantly made to correlate academic interests to actual life, to interpret studies of the class room in terms of world to-day. Hence students are urged to take interest in public questions, in affairs of municipal, State, and national government. On the eve of the election of the President of the United States, students work themselves into the highest pitch of enthusiasm. They form into parties, canvass voters, organize political parades and torchlight processions, hold mock conventions, and nominate a president.

Just as students are never considered too young or too old to be interested in the welfare of their own country, so neither are their teachers. They are public men whose expert knowledge is utilized by the Government in the study of important economic, political, and social problems, which extend far beyond the field of academic education. Frequently, State legislative committees send in for university professors to aid them with some special information, or help them in formulating certain laws. Thus a wide-awake university faculty realizes that it not only owes a duty to science and learning, but a very real service to the people who are the ultimate supporters of the institution.

The crowning glory of American schools and colleges is that its doors are not closed against an American on account of his economic condition. Education is not the privilege of only the well-to-do. The educational system is so democratic that any American youth can have education almost for a song. For poor students there are scholarships paying all or part of their expenses. There are also loan funds to tide students over periods of misfortune. Again for those who are citizens of America, and are legal residents of the State, the majority of the State universities are either free or charge only a nominal fee. An ambitious man can always contrive to work himself through the university. He can somehow earn his necessary expenses by odd jobs in offices, shops, or hotels. Indeed, it rarely happens that a self-helping young man or young woman fails to secure employment.

Honest labour, though menial, is not considered degrading. It is the brain that counts. I knew the son of a rich college President who used to do such humble labour as tending cattle and feeding hogs. This young man, who wanted to be as independent as possible, prided himself on the fact that he earned enough by his services to purchase his own clothes. For the past two years one of the janitors of the university building, where I have my office, has been a medical student. He has a paradoxical theory that "two can live cheaper than one." Not long ago, apparently by way of illustrating his notion, he brought his wife with him—not to go to the university but to earn money as a stenographer.

It has been realized that the students in order to get the most benefit out of their college must have a college home life, must have a dormitory. A dormitory? It is a building entirely under the control of the institution for housing students. The word dormitory in American Academic Language, then, means the same as the word hostel of the English Universities. There are not many institutions of higher learning in this country which have not a man's or woman's dormitory. It is the best breeding place of democracy. Young people living together under the same conditions, and breathing in the same atmosphere of sympathy, fellowship, and helpfulness, learn to develop a healthy social mind, a social conscience. It deepens and intensifies that subtle, elusive spirit of loyalty to one's university as nothing else does.

Each college and university has its Alumni Association, which is composed of graduates and former students. The Association maintains a salaried secretary with an office and staff in order to keep its members in touch with their *alma-mater* and to be of mutual service. Through the Alumni Association, the university keeps a close tab on all its graduates, and sees that they "catch on in the world and make real progress." In India, where an alumnus would no more think of loving his college than he would of loving the Post Office or the railway station, this could not be well understood. American university authorities know how to create a close bond between the students and the university, and because of this the students love their universities with a love which is sincere and deep.


(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE)

THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A.

CHAPTER V

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

E have now come to an age which is the most remarkable in the history of Bengali literature. This new age was heralded by the appearance of good many poets and writers of first-rate importance. The Bengali literature assumed a different shape from the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was encouraged in the royal court of Krishna Chunder of Nawadip. King Krishna Chunder was well versed in Sanskrit. He admired and encouraged poets and took interest in the discussion of philosophy and religion. But this astute and highly-cultured king had a peculiar disposition to indulge in clever jokes and pranks which are a little coarse and grotesque to the refined ear of a modern. Thus Gopal Bhar whose liberty of speech and rustic bluntness of manners became sometimes nauseating in a cultured society, was esteemed by him as his friend and companion. Hitherto literature was flowing in the old channel of stereotyped verse. But now new influences came in. The Bengali literature was no longer "faultily faultless, splendidly null"; no longer was it the wild garden of straggling thoughts—spontaneous outbursts of passionate desires where nature has its full play; they are now pruned by skillful men of refined and artistic taste and judgment. "Old order passed giving place to new." The formative period in the evolution was now over and the period of growth commenced. We may take it as the herald of a gaudy dawn. Now began the modern age.

The refining influence of the court is undeniable. So it is and it is so. As in England the miracle and morality plays were refined by the "University wits" and gallant royal courtiers like Lily and others, so in Bengal the lyre of the village Muse was wielded by men like Bharat Chunder and others whose learned taste and courtly manners did away with the rugged simplicity of earlier poets and substituted a novel one of their own. Though the Bengali literature had to wait for about a century more to be installed in the high place of a noble literature, yet the age of Bharat Chunder might fairly be called the New Age.

POETS OF THE TRANSITION

The two poets whom we find on the threshold

of the 18th century are Rameswar and Sri Ramprosad. We may call them the poets of the transition. While sharing many of the qualities of their predecessors, they displayed many things which were hitherto unknown. They marked the turning-point in the history of our literature. They looked forward to the age that was coming rather than to the age that was past. Their career is worth noticing as they are the two landmarks in the growth of our literature. While they imbibed the spirit of those who had gone before them, they breathed in a thoroughly changed atmosphere replete with the odours of the glorious days that would come in the immediate future.

The ancestral home of Rameswar was in the village of Jadupur in Baradu where he composed the song of Satyapir. He migrated to Karnagar in Midnapore and finally settled in the village of Ajodhyabar. The encouragement of Yosobanta Sinha led him to compose the epic called the Shib-Sankirtan. The poet admires his patron here and there in his book which was composed before 1763. He hides his humour under alliterations which, when deciphered, give indeed an idea of the turn of his mind. "The artful aid" of alliteration does not impair the genuineness of his poetry. No deep thought, no grave mood, no serious idea disturb the placidity, simplicity and humour of this good poet. We smile with his simple and innocent hits. The alliterations are on the whole sweet but sometimes they fall gratingly upon the ear. The book is full of the actions of gods and goddesses, all supernatural beings. It is not a very good artistic production, for the highest kind of art lies in handling facts to their highest consummation. The book does not lack human interest. For the poet often tries to humanise the imaginary beings living and moving in a finer element of their own. The episode of Bhagabati as a fisherwoman is very charming. The quarrels of the two brothers Kartik and Ganesh, of Shib and Gouri and the dinner of the two sons with their father so much partake of the nature of things human that we cannot but take interest in them. The attribution of human qualities, though a little repugnant to some minds, exercises a purifying and spiritualising influence upon character. These redeeming features glorify the otherwise supernatural creatures who are the

principal characters in this poem. Another most famous and popular poem of Rameswar is his song of Satyapir. This Mahomedan God was worshipped by the Hindus and even now He is worshipped and held in great reverence in every Hindu household. This hybrid worship is no doubt the result of the long residence of the two dominant races side by side in the same country. It speaks much of the liberal spirit of both the religions in uniting the defenders of the two different sects in one common devotional duty. The object of this combined worship is to show that Ram and Rahim, the two incarnations of the Hindus and the Mahomedans respectively, are nothing but two spiritual emanations of the same God-head, drowning all dissentient notes under the trumpet beat of universality, which are often absent in the zealous exponents and narrow and uncharitably disposed propagators of faiths.

The next greater poet of the transition is Ramprosad Sen. He was born between 1718 and 1723 in the village of Kumarhatta near Halisabar. He came of a family of indigenous medical profession. But he never practised medicine as a means of livelihood. He served as a clerk in the estate of some Zamindar in Calcutta but his heart was soaring in another region. His ethereal spirit took no delight in "the earth where cares abound." The flower of his poetry watered by the clear fountain of devotional love, budded forth in his heart from the earliest childhood and he composed verses occasionally glorifying the Divine Mother Kali. Sometimes he sought relief from the burdens of intricate Zamindari work in beautiful lines which he wrote on account books. The Zamindar deserves our gratitude as he pensioned off the poet on Rs. 30 per month and he retreated to his village home to pursue the work which he loved of all other things of the world. In 1758 Raja Krishna Chunder made over a landed property of one hundred bighas to Ramprosad in recognition of his poetic gifts. He also gave him the title of "Kaviranjana" and requested him to come to his Court. The poet could not comply with this request but took delight in composing his beautiful songs with which he amused all his simple co-villagers. His much wished-for retirement and complete isolation from all worldly affairs gave him opportunity to worship the Divine Mother and compose good many songs which were nothing but prayers couched in unostentatious and devotional words of intense feeling. The sole object, the end and aim of his verse

composition was not, as it is with many others, the gratification of his own self. The saying of Marcus Aurelius "never forget that it is possible to be at once a divine man, yet a man unknown to all the world" is applicable to Ramprosad. Not only did Ramprosad sing to invoke and propitiate the goddess but he refuted some of the popular religious fallacies which were and are still in vogue. He was a social reformer though he did not possess the iconoclastic fury in him. The instrument he chose for the purpose was an appeal to the emotional part of our being. Seneca's saying that a God dwells in every good man is perfectly true with Ramprosad. He gives noble and lofty counsels. His enthusiasm was so transcendent that it may be taken as the *a priori* proof of divine favour. It was *sui generis* in him. He had little faith in long routines of ceremonial ablution and in frequent bathings in the water of the sacred Ganges if the mind is unclean and impure. He discouraged shams and outward expressions of sanctity. His own asceticism was typical. He said that a high standard of moral good, righteousness and piety can be acquired by all. He fascinated all by his peerless songs abounding in passages of transcendent majesty and of the most entrancing purity and beauty. He sounded the very abyss of human misery and looked forward to death as a simple decomposition—an euthanasia—an emancipation from all agonies and torments and shackling fetters—a return to the place from which man comes. But he was so much filled with the sense of the divine presence that his life was one continued hymn to Providence. His example and his songs appeared to his contemporaries as the ideal of human goodness and they have not lost their consoling power through all the years and vicissitudes they have passed. Perfect knowledge implies perfect realisation. Ramprosad realised the high ideal to which his soul aspired and to which his imagination, the rarest of human endowments, gave expression. He was himself a votary of idolatrous worship but often he rose to abstraction and pictured to himself the transcendent energy with which the world is permeated. There is an under-current of high philosophy in his songs. Now and then he consoles the forlorn traveller in the journey of life by soothing words of hope. Often he lays bare the futility of man's endeavours in achieving the reality by gentle animadversions on their blind actions. Sometimes he speaks beautifully of what life is and what the world is by comparing men and women to bulls under the heavy yoke of the oil-

man wheeling round the stake of the world.⁴ He preaches action unmixed with any selfishness and egotistic feeling. That his verses and rhythms were a secondary thing and an accidental ornamentation of his thoughts, is proved by the structure of the verses which are very often prosodically faulty. We may say that Ramprosad was the morning star of the social reforms which were highly consummated in Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He was also the precursor of Sri Ramkrishna in the field of religion. What Ramkrishna taught and realised was also taught and realised by Ramprosad.

Besides many stray songs, Ramprosad composed another poem called "Bidyasundar" between 1749—51. It is also known by the name "Kaviranjan." It is the immediate precursor of Bharat Chunder's more famous book of the same name. Here and there an attempt has been made to display learning and the poet has lost rather than gained by the attempt. In his songs Ramprosad speaks the unaffected language of the heart—their simplicity and artfulness adds to the charm and testifies to the poet's genuineness of feelings. But "Kaviranjan" shows that much lamp oil has been wasted. It is indeed a laboured composition. The songs are the offsprings of natural feelings. They act like amulets for relieving the distress of the care-worn man in the uphill journey of life. They throw open the floodgates of the heart. They hold before the blind and the erring high moral teachings in a most fascinating manner disguising the tedium which never fails to attend the didactic disquisitions of grave and austere moralists. Their healing power constitutes their chief glory.

Ramprosad was not a preacher. He left no followers. Only one or two men followed in his wake. The names of Narish Chunder and Kamalakanta deserve to be mentioned here. The latter was a poet. He was a pious and learned man also. He composed good many songs which were once very popular in Bengal. But they lack the charm and suavity which characterise Ramprosad's songs.

• BHARAT CHUNDER

A brief enquiry into the history of Bengali literature which preceded the eighteenth century, has rendered it obvious to the reader that this literature, springing from humble beginnings in the cottages of Bengal, became so powerful that it attracted the attention of a royal patron who, though not a poet or writer himself, evinced in a higher degree that scholarly appreciation of the

best writings of the time, which was the inevitable result of his sympathetic attitude towards the growth of the literature of his own tongue. The encouragement rendered to literature by Krishna Chunder gave an impetus to it. It had already passed out of the state of childhood and was fast approaching manhood. Whatever some critics may say on the contrary it is now generally believed that the greatness of our literature at the present day owes a great deal to the endeavours of Krishna Chunder.

Let us now give a sketch of the eventful career of one of the greatest poets that Bengal has ever produced. Bharat Chunder Ray was born in 1713 at a small village called Punro Basantapur near Amta in the District of Hugli. His father was a man of substance but being deprived of his property, went to live with his father-in-law at Nawapara where Bharat learnt Sanskrit in a school of Tajpur and married a girl of that village. Narendernarain got back his property and returned to his ancestral village but Bharat, disgusted in a quarrel with his brothers had to leave home and sought and secured an employment in the estate of the Zamindars of Devanandpur. There he learnt Persian and mastered the language within a short time. Even at that time he secretly composed poems in Sanskrit, Bengali and Persian. After five years' stay at that place he returned home. Failing to pay the revenue to the Raj Estate of Burdwan, his father fell in a great difficulty and Bharat went to Burdwan as his father's spokesman only to find himself in prison. But he managed to slip away in disguise. He had a faithful servant with him. He became a sanyasin and went to Brindaban in the company of some Baishnavas who, while on their return, were singing sankirtan in a temple at Khanakul Krishnanagar, Bharat's servant informed one of his relatives of his whereabouts without his knowledge. The ascetic garments were stripped off his body and his wife was brought there. The husband and wife met for the first time after a long separation of twenty-five years. While he was seeking for an employment, he was introduced to Krishna Chunder at Fareshdanga. Krishna Chunder was impressed with the greatness of the man only after a conversation for a few minutes. He gave him the title of Rai Gunakar and asked him to reside in his court with a monthly salary of Rs. 40 only. He died in 1760 only three years after the battle of Plassey.

The sparks of poetic fire obscured so long under the leaden pressure of unfavourable circumstances

now displayed themselves in dazzling brilliance. Fallen on evil days, in darkness and dangers compassed round, this child of genius was forced in the disguise of an itinerant mendicant to submit to mean shifts by the inscrutable decree of fate. The poet's lyre roused all hearts to ecstasy. His genial spirit returned and his soul, freed from fetters that so long entangled it, now soared high in the enchanting world of poesy.

Bharat composed and finished "Bidyasundar" by the year 1752. Besides "Rasmanjari" and many other poems in Bengali, Hindi, and Sanskrit, he wrote "Annadumangal."

"Bidyasundar" is perhaps a resuscitation of a floating popular romantic story which was handled though less artistically by former poets like Kristoram of Belghoria and by the more celebrated Ramprosad. Whether the poet took the work in hand by the order of Krishna Chunder, or of his own accord, whatever might be the case, the book is, in poetry and art, one of the brightest jewels in the crown of the Bengali Muse. Bharat's famous book held the literary Bengal under a spell in the 18th and the earlier part of the 19th century. But now literary critics have fallen into two hostile camps. One school installs Bharat in a higher place than that of Kabikankan. The other school belittles Bharat's genius and does not attach any importance to his poetic skill on the ground of his dissipated taste and bad morals. Both quote chapter and verse from "Bidyasundar" and his other books in corroboration of their particular objects in view. To avoid all controversy and partizanship, we should follow the golden mean—the beaten track which a judicious mind seeks to tread between the Scylla and Charybdis of perilous opinions. Our estimate of him is not so high as to elevate him to the celestial company of epoch-making and nation-building spirits, nor is it so low as to degrade and lower him to the position of a mere grub-street poetaster of negligible standing. Considering poetry as an art, Bharat acquitted himself with undoubted ability. Considering the didactic efficacy and moral power of poetry, Bharat's performance must be assigned to a lower rank. He is mounted on a strong and active steed but it is still of mortal strain. The high function of poetry as an instrument of moral elevation is not successful in "Bidyasundar." By the time of Bharat the sub-strata of Hindu society were permeated with Mahomedan thought and literature and its degrading effects had begun to show themselves. The vitiated taste of the time joined

with the naturally bad taste of the court was responsible for the preponderance of immoral thoughts and led the poet to forget that there is anything like poetical decency which is the backbone of a higher literature. It cannot be said that Bharat was incapable of producing chaste things. He pandered to his royal master, whose jealousy and rivalry with Burdwan contributed to a large extent to the selection of Burdwan as the scene of action.

THE STORY OF VIDYASUNDAR

Vidya, daughter of the king of Burdwan, was a beautiful princess. Hira, a woman of vicious character, supplied the princess with flowers every day. She spoke of Sundar's beauty in high terms to Vidya and of Vidya to Sundar. Though they did not see each other, a passionate attachment grew up between them and each was extremely desirous of the company of the other. Sundar dug a path under the ground leading to the love-love Vidya. Some time passed in this way, but Vidya's pregnancy led to the disclosure of their illicit connection. Sundar was caught hold of and was taken to be beheaded, but he was saved by the grace of the goddess Kali. Then the two were ceremonially married.

This story resembles the story of Romeo and Juliet. Romeo was a fiery youth and an example of a passionate character under the sunny Italian sky. Youthful indiscretion combined with peculiar environments, produced a temper of Romeo's type. And as stony walls of beaten brass, nor deadly family feuds and animosities could repel the feeling of the impassioned youth from the object of his love, so Sundar endangered his own life in establishing a subterranean communication with Vidya, the exaggerated reports of whose beauty fired his youthful imagination with the prospect of union with her. Sundar's love was madness indeed, but in his lucid intervals he was not deterred by the enormous difficulties in the way of realising his hope. Cupid smote one of his sharpest darts in his bosom. His desires ultimately reached their consummation in the everlasting union of conjugalities. The story is in the main normal. The manners and taste of the time were responsible for the patches of obscure passages with which the whole book is tessellated here and there. The poet could not escape the virulent touch of obscurity and vulgarity with which he was surrounded. But in one respect the poet's achievement is admirable. "Nowhere in Bengali literature do we find such a sweeping and running measure. His mastery over the language was astonishing and he made it serve

his will. The metre is galloping when he describes the hurry and confusion and clamorous din of battle. It is again pleasant like the gentle morning breeze when he speaks of love. The plainness of terms and noiseless march of metres display the highest mastery of Bengali prosody and produce a sort of soothing calm which sends all our turbulent desires to sleep and brings all our gentler emotions to play their part. Everywhere the sound echoes the sense. Though there is no lack of ornaments, they do not detract the poet's genius. They show the rich store of his intellectual wealth. They are not out of place but are ingenious adaptations to his object in view. The poet possessed in an uncommon degree the magic power of adding beauty to an ungainly thing. This constitutes his art and he is a true artist. The most remarkable feature in Bharat's composition is that his verse is spontaneous. The liquid fluidity, the uncommon buoyancy, the sprightliness and cheerful spontaneity are the peculiar traits of Bharat. Never a line passes with forethought. His lay is never premeditated, yet it is never disgusting. He is ever jolly, buxom and debonaire. The simplicity of the artless love of the child, the freedom of a bird singing and frolicking about among the golden prospects of an autumnal dawn, and the naturalness of the murmur of a flowing stream—everything that the eye and the ear cannot miss, is found in abundance in Bharat Chunder. In this respect he occupies an enviable place as yet unapproached by.

The vocation of the poet is identical with that of the painter—the one works with the brush and the other holds the pen. Both transcribe the sense of beauty in them. The object of both is to raise pleasurable emotions by holding before us their own imaginative sense of facts. Both exercise their imagination and embody their thoughts in visible images. But the poet is in a sense greater than the painter as his pictures are varying and changeable while those of the painter are fixed and immutable. Negligible events and insignificant characters have been depicted by Bharat, which give us a bright idea of his powers in bringing out the inner beauty of the objects with the variability and fertility of inventions which his fancy never failed to create.

We cannot legitimately deprive Bharat of the poetic gift which he really possessed as we cannot deprive Wytheherly, Congreve and other poets of the Restoration period of their due on the score of their pandering habits. Bad taste in such poets was rather accidental, not inherent in their very

nature. Flourishing at a time when the taste of the society was low and degraded from causes for which they cannot be held responsible, it is no wonder that their taste should tend to conform to the taste of those for whose delight their writings were intended. Though "Bidyasundar" cannot be included in the curriculum of textbooks for boys of undeveloped minds, yet we can emphatically say that he who desires to get the mastery over the Bengali language and wants to see the perfection of language and metre, cannot leave Bharat's book from his list. A scholar cannot neglect it; if he neglects his study will remain incomplete. With all its faults "Bidyasundar" may be ranked in a very high place as a first-rate literary production. Now, what is literature? In judging what may be truly called literature, we must take two things into consideration—first, the conception of the writer and secondly, the way of expression.

The second quality is the essential ingredient in a work of literary merits. The thoughts may sometimes be borrowed, but we should look out for the way of expression. The embodiment of thoughts in undying expressions is the first test of a good literary production. Judging by that standard, Bharat may be called a literary artist.

It cannot be maintained that Bharat was incapable of good ideas. The same hand that produced "Bidyasundar," also produced a book like "Annadamangal" which is a continued hymn to the goddess Annapurna. He held the reins of his Pegasus so strongly in his hands that he could guide it as he willed—sometimes in the refined elemental spheres of instrumental harmony that

"Not wanting power to mitigate and usage
With solemn touches, troubled thoughts, and
chase

Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow and
pain

From mortal or immortal minds."

sometimes in the obscure and coarser regions inhabited by lusty spirits. He was fortunate enough that he possessed such a masterly tact. In this respect Bharat occupies an enviable position. "Annadamangal" is a strictly popular poem. In it as in Mukundaram's great poem, Haragowri forms the subject matter, and like Mukundaram he has eliminated their celestial nature with little deterrent effects on the dignity of their lofty character. An ever-failing bond of connection between the earth and heaven has been beautifully established in the "Ramayana," the "Mahabharat," Kabikankan's "Chandi" and "Anna-

damangal." In all these there is a perfect balance between spirituality and earthliness. To be "true to the kindred points of heaven and home" is, as another great poet postulates, the *sine qua non* of a virtuous life.

The oft-quoted extract in which the poet describes the beauty of Vidya may serve the purpose of a double-edged sword. There the poet heaps metaphors upon metaphors in every line. They are a handle to adverse critics who say that they show his shallowness and his painful endeavour to give an exact image of the object under contemplation by indirect means. But to speak the truth these metaphors and similes are not the offsprings of laborious meditation but a clear indication of the poet's power of natural observation. They follow, as it were, in an orderly and natural sequence. The decorated language of metaphor may be called Bharat's convention and is certainly very unlike life. But why should we suppose life so fine a thing that the poet should never be allowed to aim at a finer? The stately language of rhetoric and metaphor is not inadmissible as a convention of manner. If we are to deduct this and if we do not like this, we shall never like a great poet like Bharat. It is very much a matter of taste. The regime of the eighteenth century—with its joys for highly romantic adventures; its delight in the things of sense; its fondness for human lores; its shallow scepticism; its low morals and bad taste;—bore abundant fruits under the influence of Bharat and his followers. Again, sometimes we see the poet using words of double sense. It may be expected that such portions may appear very artificial but the poet was so much used to them that he falsifies our suspicion on that account. They have been so cleverly managed and beautifully woven with the main work that they appear perfectly natural. There is no shade of doubt that they were written by a learned poet who was also a skilful artist.

After Bharat Chunder Joynarain Sen or Lala Joynarain and Anundamoi, his niece, jointly wrote the epic called "Harilila" in 1772 A. D. about the same time Ramgati Sen composed his "Mayatimirchandra." They belong to a Baidya family of Bikrampur. Joynarain wrote another book "Chandikabya." This learned and cultured Baidya family has left a mark on the literature of their country. The portions of "Harilila," which show clearly and unmistakably the hand of Anundamoi have now been identified. The subject matter of the epic "Harilila" is the story of Satyanarain. A mighty fabric has been built

upon a very simple foundation. Anundamoi helped her uncle in the composition of "Harilila." She was born in 1752 at the village of Japsa in Bikrampur. She was well versed in Sanskrit and Bengali. She wrote good many songs and poems. She burnt herself alive on the funeral pyre of her husband.

Born in 1751 at Govindpur, (the site on which the present Fort William, Calcutta, stands) Joynarain Ghosal made an immense fortune in trade and commerce and bought extensive landed property. Warren Hastings, the then Governor of Bengal, was so satisfied with him that he gave him the title of Maharaj Bahadur and made him a manshabdar. While living at Kasi, Joynarain translated the Kashikhanda into Bengali. It is a gigantic volume containing twelve-thousand verses. There are also seven chapters in the Appendix. In his work he was helped by Shudramoni Nrisinhadev Rai. In the seven chapters appended at the end of the book, Joynarain recorded his experience of Benares at that time. The descriptions are fine and the style is simple. Here he has given sufficient proof of excellent workmanship. The translation of Git Govind by Giridhar displays, with other books of the period, the same jugglery of words. Though the translation has lost something of the original, yet it has been creditably done. The metres are monotonous but they are charming. The book was finished about 1736.

The attempts of Bharat Chunder in wielding the two languages, Bengali and Sanskrit, went on after him. In the hands of learned poets Bengali ceased to possess pliancy. The figures of speech which Bharat handled with admirable skill became the backbone of poetic composition and every poet worth the name made use of them. The result was that poetry became stiff and stilted. The whole attention of poets was devoted to the search of flowers of speech and learned comparisons. The studied stereotyped images failed to reach that high standard of poetic excellence to which Chandidas' muse with "native woodnotes wild" attained several centuries before. Thus Bengali poetry was Sanskritised and it lost all its fluidity of movement.

The first half of the eighteenth century may be called the age of epics—the age of Bharat Chunder. The latter half may be called the epoch of songs. The sustained efforts of high poetic composition sought relaxation in short lyrics. Several poets followed in the wake of Bharat. And they carried his ideal to the extreme, and, deprived of the masterly

genius of Bharat, they failed to keep themselves within reasonable bounds. Men's minds were disgusted. The serried phalanx of words and ornate style fell grating upon the ear. This revolt of popular taste against the gorgeous array of those words revived the lyrical spirit which lay in abeyance so long under the spell of Bharat. This revival of lyrics brought forth good many poets of whom Ramnidhi Gupta, better known as Nidhu Babu, deserves to be first mentioned. He was born in 1741 A. D. at the village of Chapra in Hugli and died at the age of 93. He served as a clerk under the East India Company and resigned his post and devoted his attention to music. He was a fine singer and good poet. He composed good many songs of love in a novel plan. He did not follow the Baishnava poets in making Krishna and Radha the centre of his songs but spoke of human love in a very clear and lucid style. He did not go beyond the limits of decency and good taste. True love requires sacrifice and self-surrender. It delivers itself to its beloved. It does not like to stand apart. It never desires to be isolated. It seeks union and merges its individuality. The petty differences are either forgotten or neglected. It absorbs and is absorbed. Love songs without Krishna and Radha were, to the Baishnava poets, like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet's part left out. Nidhu Babu gave up this conventional tag. He is free and easy. The simplicity of his style and the sincerity of his purpose caught the popular ear and his name and fame spread and live even in these days. Thus he may be called the father of the modern love lyrics.

Then comes a glorious band of singers who were good poets though not accomplished versifiers. They were known as Kaviwallas. Generally they divided themselves into groups, each group being led by a man who had the gift of composing extempore verses. These leaders possessed poetical talent of no mean order. For instance Ram Basu suggests excellent ideas. It cannot be said for certain that they invented a novel plan for the edification of the people. They had predecessors in the same kind of composition. But they made the art more attracting than what it had been before their time. Of the Kaviwallas none was learned but they had the uncommon gift of off-hand verse composition. At first one party through their leader as their mouthpiece sang in metrical language and then the opposed party entered

the lists with them with apt reply in verse. These were regular passages at arms. The people readily took much pleasure in listening to the quarrels of poets in spontaneous verse. The audience judged their merits and their approbation counted much in establishing the reputation of the individual versifier and of the party which he led and to which he belonged. These poets and their organised singing bands contributed to the preservation of poetic fire in lyrical composition which, though falling below the first-rate in prosodic interest, artistic finish and exquisite touch, is still emitting the fine fragrance through long ages.

The most famous though not the earliest in time among the Kaviwallas, was Ram Basu. His birth place was Salikha. He was born in 1786 and died in 1828. His love songs are characteristic on account of their singular union of the earthly with the divine. He sings of Radha and Krishna. There is little finish and attention to form, but he possesses the spontaneous gift of expression—the true eloquence of Bharat before him. Ram Basu had poetry in him. He feels and speaks the language of the heart. He has succeeded in establishing a harmony between nature and his own self. In that lies all art and that is the excellence of a good poet. Ram Basu drew a perfect picture of the human heart; he is lively and natural. We should not judge love by the degree of desire it involves. According to many a passionless calm is the sole standard of purity. But this is not so. That which appeals to the heart, that which enters nature to bring out nature, that which is truth and beauty, is poetry indeed. Poetic imagination is that imagination which is exercised without any effort to make the image more clear and impressive. This was Ram Basu's gift.

Haru Thakur was born in 1738 A. D. at Simulia in Calcutta. Though not gifted like Ram Basu his songs were sweet and musical. He was not a professional Kaviwalla for he knew that prestige and dignity could not be kept by professional men. He was a ready wit and had a strong presence of mind. He was a poet by nature. His lyrics of love are of a pure and high order. Then come the two brothers Basu and Nrishinha. They lived in a hamlet near Fareshdanga. The exact dates of their birth are not known. Both skill and beauty of language can be found in them. They were good and thoughtful poets. The name of Sridhar deserves

to be mentioned after Nidhu Babu, the premier lyrist of Bengal. Sridhar goes almost hand in hand with Nidhu Babu in lyrical gift. He was born about 1817 A.D. at the village of Bansberia in Hugli. Before the age of fourteen, he acquired a proficiency in Sanskrit grammar and poetry. The method of his learning human nature was most practical. Sometimes he would place a sweetmeat on the hand of a child and then take it away, studying all the while the psychological states of its mind with his keen, sharp and penetrating eye. Sometimes he would take to an old man who had lost all the teeth in his head and particularly mark the movements of his tongue. Thus he acquired a special aptitude in giving a vivid picture of the thing he described. He had a handsome appearance and a musical tone. He was a poet from his childhood. In his school days he composed beautiful songs with which he kept his fellow-students spell-bound. Shidhar's lyrics are so much alike those of Nidhu Babu that many of them were hitherto thought to be Nidhu Babu's. But scholars are now discovering the truth and are satisfied to see that Sridhar's place is in no way inferior to that of Nidhu Babu in lyrical composition.

Before concluding this remarkable epoch of songs, it is meet and proper that we should mention the names of another four poets of good reputation. The first of them was Raghunath Ray born in 1751 A.D. He lived to the great age of 86. He was a learned and thoughtful poet. The second was his elder brother Nandkumar. Ram Diulal Ray was the next poet. The fourth was Kali Mirja alias Kalidas Chatterjee. Guptipura in Hugli was his ancestral place. After learning Sanskrit and Persian, he made a tour in Northern India with the object of getting first-hand lessons on music by coming in contact with good many experienced men of high musical attainments. On account of his long stay in Northern India, his dress was like that of an upcountryman. Hence he was endearingly given the name "Mirja" in higher circles. Since that time he was called Kali Mirja. He was an amiable pious Hindu of excellent character. It is said that Ram Mohun Roy frequented his house to learn music. It is a matter of regret that good many poets who were a little less known have been forgotten. Their names have been buried in oblivion. The great task of present literary historians is to disinter them from their unmerited graves. The number of songs of this period, if gathered successfully, will be prodigious.

Their unmerited neglect does not speak favourably of the national enthusiasm to honour the bards—the angels of light.

The epoch of songs clearly demarcates the age of Bharat—the age of bad taste and artificiality. It is strictly popular. A literature that likes to live must draw its lease of life from the mass of people. The popular element is the most important in the making of a literature. William Langland wrote his *Piers the Plowman* and depicted the heart-rending miseries of the poor. His voice was heard. The Arthurian legends touched the heart of the people and were appreciated. They moulded the destinies of nations. Walter Scott gave a new tene to the literature of his country by collecting and publishing the most popular songs of the minstrels of the old. These songs were the property of the people. Robert Burns wrote his lyrics when ploughing in the fields and he opened a new world to the labouring poor and his influence in shaping the literature of his own has been predominant. Harder in Germany, Victor Hugo in France, and Karamsin in Russia have based their genius upon the solid foundation of their sympathy for the people. Hence a literature that is more popular than literary, that appeals more to the heart of the generality of the nation, that speaks of a nation's sufferings, lives all the more and gathers round it a power which permeates the whole nation and which expands and extends until it blossoms forth into a mighty world force whose sound is heard over seas and oceans, over mountains and rivers, and wields at last a power that mightily influences the whole world.

Our Bengali literature of the period in question sucks of the popular element and is a sign of the revolt of popular taste against the artificiality of the age of Bharat Chunder. It is for this reason they appealed to the nation and outlived the storm of ages. Though this spirit has showed itself every now and then, it is not so apparent in the present day literature of Bengal. Hence arises a disparity between the language of the poor and the language of the refined. The gulf is becoming greater and greater every day and any effort to bridge it would be welcome to every well-wisher of his mother tongue.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

RELIGIOUS SOCIALISM

From the moral and religious point of view, writes Mr. Frederic Harrison in the *Fortnightly Review*, "Socialism, which in the ideal has a noble spirit of humanity, of unselfish sacrifice, of love, as its inspiration (and our own religion is a moral, and religious Socialism), is being depraved into a gospel of self, of greed, even of plunder. The so-called Socialists make no attempt to prove that their revolution will be good for *society*."

"For them it is enough that *Labour* will gain. The capitalist—i.e., he who saved—his wife, children, and descendants are regarded as the enemy. They who have never saved enough to get them a house, or a plot of land, or even a year's keep, or who have made away with what their parents had saved, they are the Chosen People. To them every good thing belongs of right. The Gospel of Christ said: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit.' The new gospel says: 'Blessed are the poor; cursed are the rich.'"

"Lenin and Trotzky say: 'Plunder the banks of the *bourgeoisie*, but spare the very small deposits.' Our British Bolsheviks say: 'Tax the labourer at 1d. and the capitalist at 19s. in the £'. This kind of Socialism is a gospel of self, of greed, of civil war."

With all our talk about Empire do we note the trend of the great aggregates towards local autonomy, asks Mr. Harrison.

"Two of the vastest Empires on the earth are melting or preparing to melt into fractions the moment autocracy is gone. Russia now, means the various tribes east of the Baltic and the Carpathians. China has been simmering in rival provinces ever since the end of the Manchoo Dynasty."

"The air resounds with the outcries of the many races of the Habsburgs, and some people hope to see the huge German Empire disintegrate under the strain of hunger, bankruptcy, and Prussian tyranny. Arabians, Armenians, Zionists, Greeks, and Bulgarians hope to carve up Turkey. 'Mondé Rule all round' is a common cry. And Annals assure us that the British Empire hangs upon the maintenance of the Monarchy, its sole and irreplaceable key and bond. Autonomy is in the air."

CLASSIC LITERATURE

Mr. N. Gupta, contributing to the March number of the *Hindustan Review* brings out the continuity of the spiritual influence exerted by the ancient Indian epics on the Hindus, and contrasts it with the influence exerted by Greek and Roman literature. Behind the Hindu epics, there is a full and satisfying background of spiritual development of the highest order and the deepest and most abstruse philosophy. Their leading characters are cast in a much larger and grander mould than in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*; while the imagery is far more daring and full of true epic grandeur. The unbroken continuity of religious thought and teaching has held together the Hindu race amidst changes and trials which have wiped out many other ancient races and reduced their history to a mere memory. The epics and their religious and spiritual ideas have entered into the daily lives and thoughts of the whole people and influenced their conduct. The *Ramayana* is not merely a book, it is part of the daily life of the people; in India alone, the influence of classical literature on national character is a fact beyond dispute, and classical ideals and heroes are not looked upon as shadowing myths, but as living and immortal ideals and forces which influence character and life to this day.

"Egypt, Babylon, ancient Rome and Greece are mere memories though the heritage of wisdom they have left is the possession of all humanity. India alone, as ancient as any of them, has endured and has preserved its individuality in spite of unfavourable conditions which should have obliterated all its land marks. India has long lost its freedom, and submitted to the rule of the foreigner. Its religion has been assailed by either violence or persuasion, and attempts have been made to pull up all its institutions by the roots. And yet in many respects India has preserved its integrity and individuality. This is due to two causes: religion and this influence of the loftiest classic literature in the world on the national character."

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

An article contributed by Sir Henry Wheeler, K.C.I.E., to the *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation* (November 1917) gives us some very good observations on the working and chief features of the local institutions of British India. Local institutions were introduced by the British Government mainly as an instrument of political and popular education, and not primarily with a view to improvement in administration. Local institutions present 3 forms (1) Municipalities, (2) Rural boards for the improvement of non-urban tracts, and (3) Village assemblies. The last is an indigenous growth. The functions of Municipalities comprise the usual services essential for the health and convenience of town dwellers, like maintenance and building of roads, lighting, medical relief, vaccination, sanitation, water-supply, measures against epidemics and education. The sources of income are mainly house and land tax, octroi, water rate, conservancy tax, taxes on professions, vehicles, tolls, on roads and ferries, lighting rates, and revenue from Municipal property. These constitute a very complicated system of taxation and are supplemented by large grants and contributions from Government. The revenue from Municipal taxation proper, exclusive of payments for special services, is very small.

The rural boards, for Districts, sub-division and taluks have to look after roads and other communications, primary education, medical and veterinary work, markets and rest houses, pounds and ferries; and they may be called upon to overlook famine relief and cope with plague and epidemic. The back-bone of their revenue is a cess upon agricultural land, over and above the land revenue, not usually exceeding $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the annual rent value, supplemented by Government grants for education and sanitation. Village unions are found only in Madras and parts of Bengal, while in Bombay and the

Central Provinces, there are committees for village sanitation.

The composition of these bodies is only partially representative, and includes a fair selection from educated, land-holding and professional classes, in whom alone administrative ability is most likely to be found. The superior direction, in the case of rural boards is mainly in official hands which thus prevents the attainment of complete capacity by the people to manage their own affairs. The functions entrusted to them afford ample scope for useful and important work, but the funds at their disposal do not suffice for the initiation of expensive improvements. The weakness of the civic spirit has been the chief defect of the past, the people are in many ways conscious of their needs, but the determination to seek a remedy for themselves is often wanting. The second difficulty is that of finance, and another difficulty is the large area of the jurisdiction of many of the boards; and in the rural boards, there is a tendency for the corners to be starved for the benefit of the centre. The remedying of the first difficulty would go far towards curing the other two evils and the essential problem is to encourage the civic spirit.

CONSCRIPTION FOR INDIA

The Editor of the *Modern Review*, in the course of his notes in the May number, puts in a strong protest against the idea of conscription for India. The Editor observes:—

"We are entirely opposed to the idea of conscription in India. The suggestion has originated in non-official brains. That the officials are not responsible for it shows their good sense. Government need adopt only such methods of recruitment as would bring them as many recruits as they can rapidly train and equip. They do not possess a sufficient number of trainers to train in time the large number of recruits which conscription may bring.

"The only practicable and statesmanlike method to get soldiers here is to depend on persuasion. A Government which would not introduce

compulsory education in the country on the ground, among others, that it would give rise to discontent, cannot compel men to risk their lives in battle. It would be against common sense to seek to give compulsory military training to all men of military age in a country where compulsory literary training for all boys of school-going age has not yet been attempted."

The Editor also urges that the pay, prospects and other conditions should be such as to induce men to take to the army as a career and a profession. He does not insist on fat salaries, "but the pay should be more than that of a coolie or a menial and sufficient to maintain him in a state of perfect physical fitness and enable him besides to make some remittance home."

"Indians should have the same prospects and status as Britishers. An Indian's life is as dear to him and his kinsmen as a Britisher's is to him and his kinsmen. Where equal sacrifice—the sacrifice of life, if need be—is demanded, the conditions should be equal. Real King's Commissions, not honorary temporary ones, should be given to Indians. Where life has to be risked, the means of defending oneself should be the same for both the Indian and the British soldier. That is to say, Indian and British soldiers should have training of equal excellence, and their arms and ammunition and equipment should be of exactly the same kind and excellence."

Different kinds of people may be prepared for different degrees and kinds of risk and it is wise to take advantage of the willingness of all.

"Those who are willing to go abroad on active service should be and are enlisted in the regular army. There are others who are ready to undergo military training and do what is necessary to maintain order and keep the peace in the country. All such should be enlisted in the Defence Force. It is probable that a large number would volunteer for the Defence Force if the rule were laid down that they would not have to go outside their province for service. It is, probable, too, that if there were a large Defence Force of such men, many of them would eventually join the regular army. Similarly if a course of partial military training were given to all students above sixteen years of age, some of them would join the Defence Force and some the regular army."

• NATIONAL ANTHEMS •

Mr. Clement Autroul Harris writing in the current issue of the *Calcutta Review* discusses the origin of the different National Anthems. "God Save the King" is familiar all over the English speaking world. It is interesting to note how War has inspired many a composer. Haydn's Austrian anthem was composed in 1797 when France and Austria were at war. Henry Purcell adapted from an old Irish tune the music to the doggeral verses known as "Lilliburlero."

"Rubbish as the words are, it was by this song that Lord Wharton, who wrote them, claimed to have 'sung a deluded prince out of three kingdoms.' Surely the composer of the tune was in reality entitled to the lion's share of the credit! 'Rule Britannia,' too, and 'Hearts of Oak' were written by musicians of high if not the highest distinction—Dr. Arne and Dr. Boyce respectively. The great French national song, 'La Marseillaise,' was both written and composed by a military engineer and amateur violinist, Claude Rouget de Lisle; and its German counterpart, the 'Guard of the Rhine,' by a professional musician, Carl Wilhelm, otherwise almost unknown. 'Yankee Doodle' is believed to have been both written and composed by a medical man, but much uncertainty surrounds its authorship.

"Our own National Anthem: 'God Save the King,' is the work as regards the tune of either Dr. John Bull, a famous organist born in 1563, whose tune is, however, in the minor mode; or Henry Carey, the author of 'Sally in Our Alley,' who certainly has the better claim in the present writer's opinion, and undoubtedly wrote the words. The first performance of the two together was at a political banquet in 1740."

The music of the Russian and the Belgian Anthems were both composed about the year 1830.

"The quaint tune of Japanese National Hymn, not at all unlike a Gregorian in style, is centuries old, but nothing more about it appears to be known. And the airs to which the national Anthems of Italy, Greece, and Serbia are sung are evidently of that obscure origin veiled under the name 'traditional.'"

THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1918-19

Professor V. G. Kale, writing in the newly started *Journal of the Indian Economic Society* makes a few interesting observations on Sir William Meyer's last budget presented to the Imperial Council in March last. He congratulates Sir William Meyer on his budget which expects, on the basis of existing taxation, a surplus of 3 crores, after providing for all the necessary expenditure and calculating a reduction of about 3 crores in the revenue. The net expenditure on the military services has gone up from 30½ to 43½ crores of rupees in the last 4 years, while the total revenue has gone up by about 34 crores. Railway profits are largely responsible for this increase in revenue, but the income-tax, excise and customs also made appreciable contributions. Sir William has been criticised severely in some quarters for not imposing additional taxation and thus showing more of *Imperial Patriotism*. He replied that "the best way that India can render further help is to be prosperous and contented internally." The financial help of India to the war is not to be belittled while the response of the people in the matter of the war loan has exceeded all sanguine expectations.

"The criticism of Sir William's policy with regard to public loans, is less unreasonable. It is contended that big war-loans should have been floated with a view to drawing from the country the currency with which it was being saturated. Large masses of rupees and notes have been unloaded into the money market and they have proved inadequate, while they must certainly have contributed their share in pushing up prices. In this matter the Finance Member went upon the experience of the past. He did not expect to get much more than £ 10 million for the first war loan, and would have felt thankful for any excess over that amount.

"The lesson has been taken to heart and the loan of this year will have no limits, while the experiment of the Treasury Bills will be continued. Merchants and manufacturers in some parts of the country are bursting with money at the present moment and there is a large amount of loanable capital in the country. Government has

also taken powers to restrict the issues of capital for industrial purposes and to invest a large portion of the Paper Currency Reserve in London. India has already paid off about a third of her gift of £ 100 million, to Great Britain and has invested £ 20 million as a reserve of capital. The Gold Standard Reserve Fund amounting to about £ 34 million is in London and Rs. 54 crores of the Paper Currency Reserve will soon have been invested in British Treasury Bills and other securities. Besides the Rs. 50 crores of the war gift, Rs. 135 crores have thus been transferred from this country to London and invested there. We heartily endorse the criticism that it is better to replenish Government treasuries with proceeds of loans rather than with the issues of fresh rupees and notes."

CENTRAL EUROPE

Friedrich Naumann, a member of the Imperial German Reichstag and the chief amalgamator of the various small radical groups therein, appears in his famous book (*Mitter Europa*) *Central Europe* as the promoter of a federation, offensive and defensive, military and economic, primarily of the German Empire and Austria-Hungary, but also including the Balkan States, Denmark, Scandinavia, Holland and what he calls a regenerated Italy. Naumann's book is ably reviewed in the *Mysore Economic Journal* (March 1918) by Mr. Frank Noyce. Naumann's book is singularly free from animus against England, and holds that a permanent understanding with Russia, after the war is impossible, so long as Germany and Russia are opponents in Turkey, the Balkans and the Slav districts of Austria-Hungary; while he thinks it would be easier to contemplate a permanent union with England. He is also fully aware that the German is not loved abroad, but he attributes this to Germany's method of work which no other nation can imitate and hence every one of them holds as unfair. His Mid-Europe is not a perfectly free-trade union, involving complete free trade between its partners; and what he advocates is a system of intermediate duties falling into three classes. He thinks Austria-Hungary as the greatest obstacle

to the realisation of his ideal but counts on the pressure of the political situation to compel Austria's acceptance of his proposals.

"His Mid-European State Union when it comes into existence will have nothing to do with religious matters, nor will it touch school affairs. The language question will be left to the decision of the individual States, though German will naturally be the language of the Joint Commissions, which are all the fresh governmental machinery which in the first instance he proposes to set up. These Joint Commissions will prepare the machinery for, and carry out the instructions of, the several governments. The whole sphere of internal administration, the constitutions of commune and state in the narrower sense of the word, will also remain undisturbed by the Central European State Union. It certainly looks as if, under this arrangement, Austria-Hungary would retain a full measure of independence but closer examination shews that this would not be the case. The new Economic State will deal, through the Joint Commissions, directly with customs, the regulation of syndicates, export organizations, patent law, trade marks, the control of material and similar matters and indirectly with traffic policy, social policy and 'many other things.'"

LOCAL GOVT. IN ANCIENT INDIA

A paper with this title, read before the Mythic Society of Bangalore by Dr. R. K. Mukerji, and published in the current issue of the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* contains some interesting side-lights on ancient Indian local, village and municipal administration. First it is noted that while modern States consciously create autonomous centres within themselves by the devolution and delimitation of their own functions, the ancient Indian communal institutions, guilds and local bodies had an origin independent of the State, and grew out of fluid and inchoate conditions of tribal life and organisation. Municipal departments are termed *Samuhas* in the *Smritis* and these not only addressed themselves to the ordinary material interests of communal life such as sanitation and water supply, but also

to the interests of public and spiritual life by the provision of halls for public meetings and temples for public worship. The organised communal charities included not merely the relief of the poor in times of famine and calamities, but also the cremation of dead paupers, distribution of charity among the poor, etc., and the support of the infirm, the blind, and the diseased.

South Indian inscriptions regard irrigation works as one branch of municipal activity. The duty of maintaining and keeping the irrigation tanks and channels fell upon the village community, like the removal of accumulated silt, etc. Epigraphic and literary evidence carries back the existence of irrigation works in Southern India even anterior to the 8th and 9th centuries A. D. Remedies against breaches in the tank bunds and other similar accidents beyond human control were provided by private charity. The preservation of tanks was regarded also as a religious work bringing great spiritual merit to the man providing for it. Tanks had endowments of land or money for their own and repairs were executed at the expense of these endowments. In cases where there was no endowment or private charity forthcoming, the villagers employed compulsory labour.

Village committees existed almost everywhere; purity, fairness and freedom of debate were preserved and the voting was not rushed. Special committees were appointed to deal with difficult or intricate cases [*vide* epigraphs of Southern India, Rig Veda (X 71, 10) and Pali works]. The administrative and judicial business of some of the autonomous clans of Buddhist India was carried out in public assembly, at which young and old alike were present. In Vedic India, the hall served as a meeting place for social intercourse and general conversation and debates. Villages had their monasteries and schools of learning and in some there were schools, hospitals and feeding houses also.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY IN INDIA

Mr. A. J. Appaswamy, writing in the *Hindusthane Student* (published in U.S.A.) for December 1917, explains how the Indian Christian community is coming gradually out of its shell and is slowly realising its position in the larger life of India. There have arisen a new generation of missionaries who have changed ideas as to the value of things Indian, while non-Christians are gradually evincing a spirit of equality and co-operation with Christians. The Christians must scrupulously guard against the over-emphasis of the separatist tendency to communal development, and Christians must, both individually and collectively enter into friendly relations with their non-Christian brethren. The Indian Christian community, in the words of Raja Sir Harnam Singh, is admirably fitted to serve as a peace-maker between the different communities. The following extracts show the ways in which the Christian community can and must help the cause of India :—

"We shall grow in numerical strength by admitting the depressed classes and thus form a body politic, national in its character. We shall do our best to give the fair sex her exalted position as the mother of the land. We shall continue to offer every facility for intermarriage between the several portions of the Indian population and thereby fuse the different races into one powerful nation. . . . Let me assure our non-Christian brethren our humble services will always be at their command in any movement which seeks the political progress of India within the British Empire. The problems in India are different from those in America. The question of the relation between landlord and tenant takes the place of that between capitalist and labourer. Not the problem of over-crowded cities but that of small and scattered villages, needing educational and sanitary measures, faces us in India. In dealing with these and other evils of a critical nature, Christians, Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs and Parsees should all work together as the common and loyal sons of India, unmindful of the differences that tend so strongly to separate them."

THE INDIAN TROOPS

Mrs. C. M. Salwey, writing in the April number of *East and West* pays a tribute to the heroism and self-sacrifice of our Indian troops now fighting in the great War, and declares it is the duty of the West, of Englishmen to exhibit and establish true comradeship and love, to play their own part and to roll away the mist of aloofness by the strength of their rising love. Notwithstanding all their trials, the Indian troops fought their many foes, bravely and unflinchingly; their silent and stealthy methods often took the enemy by surprise, and their gentlemanly behaviour deeply impressed all who either commanded or came in touch with them.

"The Indian method of warfare differing widely from that practised by Europeans, particularly in the present campaign, was bound to place them at a temporary disadvantage—for 'this reckless scientific conflict that stops at nothing in respect to its finnish inventions, was bound to come as a revelation to Asiatics. Added to these detriments, the severity of the whole winter and early spring of 1914 and 1915, rendered speedy operations a difficult problem. Continual rain storms, fog, and mist, arising from the ploughed up ground, the liquid fire, wire entanglements, together with other obstacles to progress made the conditions under which the Indian soldiers fought new and perpetual hinderances to the utmost display of their inborn relentless fighting capacity. The cold, had culminated in ice, and first attacked them cruelly, with the painful experience of 'frost-bite' to which many alas eventually succumbed, or were invalided out of the ranks. These were ills to combat against which they had had but little experience hitherto."

The Indian soldiers who gave up their lives in the cause of humanity and justice, lie side by side with the bravest of English soldiers, and they are the real foundations on which a new era of Imperial equality and justice will be built up.

• ALSACE-LORRAINE

There is an illuminating article in the March number of the *Positivist Review* by Paul Descours, which reviews briefly the past history of Alsace and Lorraine from the time of the Romans to the War of 1870-71 by which Alsace and part of Lorraine were handed over to Germany. Even Bismarck did not wish to annex any part of Lorraine, but he was overruled by Moltke. Since 1872, nearly a quarter of a million French have left the provinces, but have been replaced by nearly as many German settlers. The popular saying that, "French I cannot be, German I will not be, I will be an Alsatian," well expresses the general frame of mind of the people after their annexation by Germany. The following are some of the proposals put forward to solve the question without France annexing them back.

"That Alsace-Lorraine should be divided between Bavaria and Prussia, and that the inhabitants not of German origin should be disfranchised. This is the Pan-German solution, but could hardly be carried out unless Germany gained a decisive victory.

That Alsace-Lorraine should form an autonomous state of the German fatherland like Bavaria, Saxony, or Hesse. It must, however, be remembered that they are not free to express their opinion, as they are liable to be prosecuted for high reason if their opposition is held to be a danger to the country.

That Alsace-Lorraine should be a neutral state under the guarantee of the German Government. This, indeed, would be a most valuable security, especially when we remember how the Germans scrupulously respect all such treaties.

That Alsace-Lorraine should be given to Switzerland. That solution would satisfy neither France nor Germany, and Switzerland would not wish to receive territory which is not Swiss.

That there should be a plebiscite in Alsace-Lorraine. The time for this was in 1871. It would obviously be unfair to exclude the descendants of those who left the country or to allow the Germans who have taken up their places to have a vote."

THE CONTROL OF CAPITAL ACT

The Editor of the *Wealth of India* writing in his March issue condemns in strong terms the enactment of the Control of Capital Act for the period of the war and for six months thereafter; though in practice, we are assured that industrial concerns of national importance or small companies will not be affected by this act. He says that the analogy of similar legislation in England does not hold good here; as while in England there is practically no man unemployed owing to conscription and employment in war industries, in India restriction of industrial expansion would mean the unemployment and starvation of thousands. Moreover Government has entirely misunderstood the psychology of the public and the investor just at present, who might misinterpret the measure as handicapping instead of aiding industrial development. In the case of Indian owned companies, which are generally under-capitalised, this act may prove harsh in its working. From whatever point of view, one might look at the act, there is no valid justification for its enactment now.

"We are not convinced that it is at all necessary to check new issues to make the ensuing war-loan a success. In the first place, the past war-loan proved a success beyond dreams. What is there to suppose that the new loan will not be a success without the enactment of a control of capital. Secondly the success of a loan depends a good deal on the rate of interest offered and other attractive features. If the terms of the new loan are tempting enough, there is no reason to suppose that the investor would not put his money into it in preference to an industry, the profits of which are at best speculative. Thirdly, deterrents are already in force to prevent unnecessary issues as the Priority Committee has to be satisfied before any new machinery can be imported into the country to start any venture. Fourthly, if small companies are not to be interfered with and industries of national importance are to be allowed, there will remain very few industries between these two grades and some banks in Bombay and Calcutta against which apparently the legislation is aimed at."

IMPERIAL RECONSTRUCTION

Mr. Clarke Dawson, lecturing on the subject of Imperial Reconstruction before the Royal Colonial Society (published in the *United Empire* for March), made some observations on some dangers and safe guards that attend the work. The first point that he stressed on is that the Empire must seek its uniformity in ideals only and preserve that diversity of its various members which is the very soul of progress. The remedy for a narrow, distorted outlook is education on the broadest and most generous lines; and where the claims of the poor to social justice are sound in principle and right in policy, they should be actively supported in their endeavour to realise their wishes. All the resources of intellect in the nation must be discovered and developed. More students of the right type must be sent to the institutions for higher education and to the Universities and there must be more Universities. The privileges and responsibilities of citizenship, with the obligation to render disinterested unpaid public service must be more thoroughly taught and enforced. The duty to consider the needs of weaker nations who look to us for help and guidance should be constantly placed before the future citizens. Appeals should be made in the upper classes of schools for boys and girls to be trained to serve the Empire. A constant and steady interchange of teachers between all parts of the Empire, the close linking up of the various Universities of the Empire, a permanent Imperial Council, etc., are other necessities.

There are some remarks on the right attitude of the ruling class towards dependent races.

"In dealing with the Dependencies, more attention must be paid to the exploration and education of those resources of intellect the possession of which is often unsuspected in native races. It is undoubtedly a great thing to develop natural

resources, to build bridges and construct harbours and railroads; it is a noble thing to bring the blessings of peace and protection against tyranny and oppression under our flag and fleet, but it is infinitely nobler and grander to raise the standard of intelligence of a whole people, to teach them self-respect, self-control, as they develop into capable, loyal citizens devoted to the ideals of the Commonwealth.

"In seeking to develop the intelligence of native races more attention must be paid to teaching such subjects as handicraft, weaving, building construction, domestic architecture, personal hygiene, rather than the inculcation of knowledge based on abstract principles. They must be taught to do things for themselves, for their own benefit."

INDIA IN INDIAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA. By S. V. Visvanatha M.A. ["The Modern Review," May 1918.]

BENGAL IN TRANSITION. By Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee L.M.S. ["The Hindustan Review," March 1918.]

LAND REVENUE AND RYOTS. By Bandobasti. ["East and West," April 1918.]

THE UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA AND THEIR IDEALS. By Mr. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.A., L.T. ["The Educational Review," April 1918.]

THE INDUSTRIAL DECLINE IN INDIA. By Mr. C. Gopalan Nair, B.A., B.L., ["The Wealth of India," March 1918.]

FALACIES REGARDING HINDU CULTURE. By Prof. Benoy K. Sarkar. ["The Hindustanee Student," December 1917.]

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN EDUCATION. By Nationalist. ["The New Review," April 1918.]

QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

393

THE DELHI WAR CONFERENCE

The following are the reports of the two sub-committees appointed by the War Conference on man power and resources :—

MAN-POWER AND RESOURCES COMMITTEES

Many concrete proposals have been received from the members present of the provincial recruiting boards dealing with various aspects of recruiting organization such as the organization and expansion of the Indian Defence Force, the Indian soldiers family allowances, the method of payment of the bonus in recruitment and an increase of the recruiting staff. These have been referred by the sub-committee to the further consideration of the Central Recruiting Board and the Adjutant General. The sub-committee desire to submit to the Conference the following resolutions and recommendations :—(a) That this committee recommend that the Conference tender to His Majesty the King Emperor a suitable acknowledgment of his gracious message to which India will respond with enthusiastic alacrity. (b) That this committee offer its cordial support to the Government of India in largely increasing voluntary recruitment during the present year. The sub-committee are of opinion that India's effort should be a voluntary one and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription. (c) That this committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions. (d) That this committee recommend that the Government be invited to consider without delay the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers. (e) That this committee desire that the question of the constitution and development of (1) publicity bureau, and (2) employment bureau in the various provinces be commended to the favourable consideration of the Government.

The sub-committee on resources advise economy in every possible direction, the control and regulation of all unessential building operations, also reduction of needless traffic by use as far as possible of local products. They also advise (1) State committees to help Government departments and private individuals to carry out this policy, also to advise priority to be given on the railways to special necessities. (2) Encouragement by Government of construction of river-craft sailing ships to relieve the railway. (3) Creation of provincial committees.

THE SELF-GOVERNMENT RESOLUTION

The Hon. Mr. Khaparde had given notice of the following resolution to be moved at the second days' sitting of the War Conference, but H. E. the Viceroy ruled it out of order, as not falling within the scope of the Conference.

"This Conference recommends that in order to evoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should without delay introduce a Bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish Responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which should be specified in the Statute.

We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom and for the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as other members thereof; and we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, "the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

MRS. SAROJINI'S APPEAL FOR UNITY

Presiding over the Madras Provincial Conference which met at Conjeevaram on May 9, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said in the course of her address :—

Ever since the memorable pronouncement in August, we have been waiting, hoping, working, breaking our hearts and then reconstructing our hope over and over again. Close upon that announcement came the Secretary of State for India, and with his coming the united voice of India, attuned in diverse tunes, made the same demand in various Provinces. Then came that great unforgettable Assembly in Calcutta where the hope and desire of the united nation was reiterated from the platform of the Indian National Congress.

Immediately after that, came the message of the Premier of England to the Indian people saying "you are the bulwark of Asia's defence against oppression." On the heels of this appeal came the now historic War Conference held at Delhi. What is India going to do? They were invited from the north and south, Bengal and Bombay and from the core and heart of Hindustan. But he was not a wise master of ceremonies that distributed the invitations. But those leaders, who are the core and heart of the Indian people, were not asked to represent India (*cries of shame*) and yet India, magnanimous, always loyal to her own pledge, said: We go to the Conference; we who have been insulted, we whose social honour has been betrayed, we whose leaders have been outraged, we come to the Conference. What is it that you ask of us? The answer came: This is India's War. We want the blood of India; we want the gold of India; we want the soul of India; but of an India that must be silent, of an India that must be content to be merely dependent, giving the loyalty of a shackled people. Without you we are lost, and without you there is no bulwark of Asia's defence. What did the leaders of the long suffering, noble, patient and

magnanimous India say? They said: Though you have not kept your pledges to us, we are ready to keep our pledges to you, because we are true to ourselves and true to our own country. When you entered into a contract, unwritten and unspoken, with us that you were here to teach us the ways of Liberty, to show us the way to Freedom, you built your Empire. You took the Nation's gold, you took the Nation's brain; you broke the Nation's courage; you stamped on the Nation's honour and kept your pledges in that way, but we have kept our pledges in your peril. We have stood by you in your need; we have taxed ourselves to pay you; we have let our industries die, so that you might exploit our resources, and yet we say to you in your need we stand by you.

What will be the political outcome of this response? There are those amongst us who say: Don't accept, don't respond, make conditions, let England suffer, let the Allies be crushed in the contest. This is the hour when we shall make condition, and the hour of peril shall be our way to victory. There are others again who say: No; let us forget our domestic questions; let us forget our grievances; let us assume for the moment that we are not slaves; and let us not make any conditions. Shall we who hold such noble traditions of martial valour, of secular learning, of spiritual power, be content either to withhold our hands or go merely as camp followers of a battling power. No, rather would we fight, give the very flower of our manhood, so that our men may light their way to victory. We make no conditions, because we are not shop-keepers. (*Cheers.*) . . . Oh! youth of the Nation, you and only you are to be the deliverers of Indian spirit, and therefore without question, without condition, without making this clause or that clause, enlist in thousands, so that England's need may be served incidentally and India's need ultimately.

RULING PRINCES' WAR AID

The following is a list of war contributions made by Ruling Princes and Chiefs since the Prime Minister's appeal:—H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad has offered a sum of £100,000; H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda, Rs. 15 lakhs; H. H. the Maharajah of Mysore, Rs. 10 lakhs; H. H. the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior, Rs. 15 lakhs; H. H. the Maharajah of Kashmir, Rs. 5 lakhs; H. H. the Maharaj of Cutch, Rs. 1 lakh a year for the period of the war, in addition to his present contributions; H. H. the Maharaj Rajah of Bundi, Rs. 25,000; H. H. the Maharajah of Alwar, Rs. 1 lakh; H. H. the Maharajah of Faridkot, Rs. 1 lakh, for the purchase of aeroplanes; H. H. the Maharajah of Nawanagar, Rs. 3 lakhs a year for so long as the war continues; H. H. the Rajah of Chamba, Rs. 1,00,000—he has also telegraphed stating that he will endeavour to raise 500 men for Government and will contribute annually towards their maintenance; H. H. the Maharajah of Patiala has offered the recruitment of drafts for three battalions of infantry; the Bahawalpur Durbar has offered to provide another Camel Transport Corps, with escort; H. H. the Nawab of Maler Kotla has to raise two Double Companies of Sappers and Miners, in addition to the present two Double Companies of Imperial Service Sappers, also to provide an aeroplane; and the Feudatory Chief of Dhenkanal, Behar and Orissa, has offered a monthly contribution of Rs. 500.

BHAVANAGAR ADMINISTRATION.

The Maharajah of Bhavanagar has inaugurated People's Representative Assembly in the State with a view to broadening and popularising the administration. To begin with the Assembly will consist of 38 members nominated by the Durbar representing all classes of the people, viz., aristocracy, farmers, traders, municipalities and and cultivators. This announcement was made on the occasion of the Maharajah's birthday.

RECRUITMENT OF NEPALIS

At the last meeting of the tea districts Labour Supply Association the question of Nepali recruiting was considered. The Nepal Durbar had asked the United Provinces Government to arrange that the recruitment of Nepalīs for other than combatant services should be discontinued, as the requirements of the Gurkha regiments were considerable and the cultivation of land rendered it necessary to restrict the number of able-bodied population taking up civil employment outside the State. The Government had asked the Association to co-operate by closing down temporarily the recruitment of Nepalīs through the Gorakhpur agency. The committee decided to meet the wishes of the Government in this matter and agreed to withdraw its Nepali recruiters from Gorakhpur.

REFORMS IN MYSORE

The *Karnataka* observes:—

The address which the Dewan of Mysore delivered on the occasion of the opening of the second session of the Mysore Representative Assembly is very important in that it announces the introduction of three important reforms. A scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions has been sanctioned. The Press regulations that have been pressing hard on journalists have, in response to public representations, been modified. Under the new amendments before action is taken against any newspaper opportunity will be afforded to the Editor or other person concerned to state his defence and explain the position with reference to the charges brought against him. This is proposed to be done by a quasi-judicial enquiry being held in the first instance, in which the editor or the person concerned will be represented. Need it be pointed out that in British India the demands of the people for similar reforms have not only been ignored, but the advocates are condemned as agitators.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

INDIANS IN RHODESIA

The British Indian Association of Rhodesia recently entertained the retiring Resident Commissioner, Mr. H. J. Stanley, C. M. G. and took advantage of the occasion to present him with an illuminated address, in which generous recognition was made of his services to the Indian community. The following report of Mr. Stanley's speech in reply, which we cull from the *Rhodesia Herald*, may be of interest:—

His friendly feeling for the British Indians of South Africa was not only of recent growth. During the years of his service on the Governor-General's staff in the Union, before he came up to Rhodesia, much of the official work which had passed through his hands had been concerned with the so-called Indian question, and he was proud to remember that he had been associated, although only in a secretarial capacity, with some of the correspondence and negotiations which had led up to the settlement of 1914, and had been privileged to make the acquaintance of Mr. Gandhi and others of their leaders in the South. Some troublesome difficulties and grievances had been removed in 1914, and he personally took a hopeful view of the future.

They were passing through days of grave anxiety, when the destinies of nations were hanging in the balance and thousands upon thousands of brave, young lives of all races and colours were in jeopardy. Men from every region of the Empire were fighting shoulder to shoulder against the common foe. India had played a noble part in the war, and the Indians in Rhodesia had shown themselves ready to bear their share of the burden. He believed that, in the result of this great united effort, the tendency among all British peoples would be to think less of their several points of difference and more of the things which they had in common, their allegiance and loyalty to His Majesty the King-Emperor, and their devotion to the flag.

INDIANS IN FIJI

In the course of a speech at Delhi on April 25, Mr. C. F. Andrews dwelt upon the origin, the wicked working and the horrible and mischievous results of the indentured labour. Mr. Andrews then paid a tribute to the services of Lord Hardinge and the present Viceroy who have saved the situation by their tact and sympathy. He observed that the obnoxious machinery of the indentured labour in its wicked particulars of kidnapping and deceiving innocent women and ignorant men was now a thing of the past. In a very happy and cheerful manner he then spoke of the heroic efforts which he himself and his self-sacrificing friends were making for the mental and moral uplift of the Indians in Fiji, even in the teeth of opposition and difficulties from many quarters. In the end he appealed to the spiritual emotions of the audience to pray for the well-being of the suffering sons of India overseas.

LICENCES FOR BRITISH INDIANS

Knowing how British Indians are discriminated against in the matter of licences in South Africa, the following letter from the Chief Magistrate, Umtata, to the Mayor of Miatatiele, printed in a recent issue of *Indian Opinion*, will be read with interest:—

"With reference to your letter of the 27th, I must point out, that it would be contrary to the British Government's policy to prohibit subjects of friendly countries from trading in a British possession. No licences will of course be granted to enemy subjects during the period of the war. I note that your Council wishes to debar aliens naturalised as British subjects from trading in the territories. An alien who has been granted letters of naturalisation in the Union is entitled to all the privileges of a British subject, and no differentiation between him and a born British subject could equitably be made."

WAR FINANCE

The following is an extract from the preface of Prof. Shield Nicholson on "War Finance."

• Prof. Nicholson is Professor of Political Economy in the University of Edinburgh and the book is dedicated to the memory of his son killed while a Second-Lieutenant in the Flying Corps :—The root evil of our financial policy has been the extravagant payments made by the State for all the services required for the war, whether of capital or labour, always excepting the labour of the actual fighting. The extravagance has only been made possible by inflation. The fruits of the evil are the waste of national resources, the increase in the inequities of distribution, and, worst of all, a degradation of the soul of the nation. We entered this war, not with the hope of economic gain, but with the certainty of economic loss to the people of this generation as a whole. Justice and liberty at the beginning of the war were not names, but things worth fighting for. In the course of the war these high aims have been obscured by the pursuit of gain. The greatest national effort ever shown by this country has been the creation of a national Army surpassing in military power that of Germany. The worst disgrace ever inscribed in our annals would be far surpassed if in the end this mighty effort and this unequalled sacrifice of our best lives were rendered vain by the misuse and the corrupting influence of that very money power on which at the beginning of the war we most relied to out-last the enemy."

GOVERNMENT SOAP FACTORY

The Government of Madras have accepted Sir J. A. Nicholson's scheme for developing the Government Soap Factory in Calicut. The addition of a technological institute to be attached to the factory, for the training of students in soap making, the analysis of oils, etc., is a welcome departure. Already, we are told, the factory is considered to be a success with a production of fine varieties of soap.

COMMERCIAL MISSION TO THE AMIR

The *Pioneer's* Calcutta commercial correspondent writes:—Particulars are now available concerning an important trade deputation that recently left Cawnpore for Kabul. The chief members of the Commission are Sir Alexander Mac Robert, managing director of the Cawnpore Woollen Mills, and Mr. L. P. Watson, managing director of Messrs. Cooper, Allen and Co., of Cawnpore. The object of the deputation is primarily to coach the Amir and his advisers in the working of woollen mills, tanneries and leather factories, much in the same way as Sir Walter Pyne many years ago instructed the authorities at Kabul in engineering science. No political significance is attached to the Commission. The Government of India, appreciating the loyalty of the Amir, selected Sir Alexander Mac Robert and Mr. Watson as experts in their respective businesses to help the Amir at the latter's own request.

SWADESHI CO-OPERATIVE STORES

Mr. M. K. Gandhi performed the opening ceremony of Swadeshi Co-operative Stores at Delhi on April 28. There was a very large attendance. The Swadeshi Co-operative Stores have been started with the object of encouraging Indian industries in every possible way. The capital of the Company is Rs. 2,50,000 and its directors are: Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, *Chairman*; Hon'ble Lala Madhusudan Dial; Lala Pearey Lal, and Lala Shunkar Lal Basal.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY

India has about 2½ million acres devoted to sugar cane cultivation, of which each on the average produces about one ton of *gar* equivalent to 0·4 of a ton of refined sugar. In Java the output is about *four times as great*; but in the Sandwich they obtain from 10 to 12 tons of sugar an acre—something like *twenty times as much as in this country*.

• AGRICULTURAL SECTION

INDIAN AGRICULTURE.

The *Indian Industries and Power* for March 1918, remarks that Indian agriculture is a profession abundant in regrets; though its disadvantages seldom end in divorce from land. Farming is yet in a quasi economic stage, and has yet to be made a real business; there is no preparation, at any rate, very little of it for the farmer who cultivates no special talents and calls no energy to his task. Those who do bodily labour on the soil, as well as those whose sole support is derived from land are treated with scant courtesy. The low-caste labourer in the fields, though sober and hard-working, is a fellow without ambition or enterprise. He is dull-witted and is socially yoked to the exhausting toil of agriculture. Here are some shrewd remarks on the real root-cause of the backward state of agriculture.

It has always occurred to us that the low state of Indian agriculture, comparatively speaking, largely resides in the temperamental defects of the human material employed in it. Agriculture here is a hotchpotch of mother-wit rule-of-thumb formulae, and absurd social distinctions. To make a business of it requires, before anything else, a vast social upheaval. Capital cannot be most economically employed in a concern where considerations, other than the economic, play a large part—as in present-day Indian agriculture.

STOCK AND QUALITY OF MILK

A milk dealer in England, says the *Statesman*, a few weeks ago was prosecuted because the milk he sold was not of orthodox purity. His defence was that the milk reached the consumer exactly as it came from the cows, but it was drawn at a time when there was an air raid and the animals were suffering from shell shock. This explanation was not accepted and the milkman was fined. The *Landet*, without questioning the justice of the decision in this particular case, thinks that the plea

that the quality of the milk can be adversely affected by shock is in itself quite a sound one. It is well-known that a cow through restlessness or nervousness holds back her milk, and the quality also is often unfavourably affected under similar circumstances. The *gowala* in India, asked to bring his cow to the bungalow and milk it in presence of the *mensaheb*, will plead that in such an environment and in the presence of strangers, and foreigners the cow will refuse to yield her milk. It has often been noticed that cows placed on exhibition at agricultural shows at first give less milk and poorer milk than usual. Another fact that is well attested is that the flesh of over-hunted game and of over-driven cattle is unwholesome.

FRUIT FARMING

The popular taste in recent years has set strongly in favour of fruit, and there has been a huge increase in the demand. It is not surprising that Australia, British Columbia, and South Africa are competing strongly in this market, and offering attractions to immigrants who wish to take up the industry. It will be difficult for such adventurers to make a choice. The British Columbia fruit is of very high quality, as is evidenced by the fact that it is exported to both Australia and South Africa, though the bulk of the trade is with the prairie provinces. The market in this case seems secure. The opportunities in Queensland are very good, and fruit trees there mature quickly—a great advantage to a planter with small capital. South Africa has established an excellent system of standardised packing, and the interior enjoys the same railway rates as the coast. Co-operative Companies provide for uniformity in quality, and the reputation of South African fruit is now thoroughly well established.—*The Colonial Journal*.

Christine. By Alice Chlomondeley. Macmillan's Empire Library, London.

This book is a collection of letters written by a very sensitive and remarkably intelligent English girl who was studying music under a great master at Berlin about the time when the present war broke out. These letters show how the Germans as a race are knit together by the toughest band of uncritical admiration for everything German and how they had been suffering just before the war under a delusion of envious nations crouching ready to spring at them—the feeling when the war broke out being only a fury of blood-lust and loot-lust which might at best be termed only aggressive patriotism. The writer's thorough intimacy with a Junker family of the closest type, shows how the Junkers take great pains in nourishing emotions like these in the people.

The Psychology of Music: By H. P. Krishna Row, Mysore.

This is a valuable work essaying to carry on research work in the world of the inter-relations of sounds and ideas. It is no doubt difficult to say on what basis the author rests his theory of the inter-relations of the mental scale and the musical scale. It is as difficult of proof as of refutation. The *gamahas* (graces), the *tala*, the timbre and colour of the voice, and the words of the song introduce elements that profoundly alter the basic moods of the *ragas*, and he must be a bold man indeed who would seek to confine the "linked sweetness long-drawn-out" of music into the framework of a formula. But Mr. Krishna Row's work is in a new and original sphere of research and deserves our warmest commendation and admiration and we hope that he will give to the world a bigger volume developing his ideas. We heartily agree with him when he says: "a country in which there is no musical education is far behind in the scale of civilisation."

Where Jasmines bloom: By Mary Julian; Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Though this book is called by the author "a romance of Kashmir," it is not a tale of India or of Indian life in the sense that it has anything to do with Indians or even Indian conditions. It is merely a story, depicting in more or less conventional lines, the daily interests of a few English families settled in various cities in Upper India. The colourless life led by these people in having no concerns except the personal interests and social amenities of the few select families within their circle in secluded cities, and thoroughly ignoring everything and every one not belonging to that circle is reproduced, but one fails to see what ethical or intellectual purpose, or even any artistic or educational end is served by productions of this ilk, which are neither grave nor gay, but supremely dull throughout.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

RECOLLECTIONS. By John Viscount Morley, O. M. Macmillan & Co., London.

ANNE LULWORTH. By Mrs. Alfred Sidgwick. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

TOWARDS INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM. By Edward Carpenter, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

TOXIC AND ANTAGONISTIC EFFECTS OF SALTS ON WINE YEAST. By S. K. Mitra. University of California Press, Berkely.

LIFE'S INSPIRATIONS. By Lily L. Allen. L. N. Fowler & Co., London.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA.

RAM MOHAN ROY AND MODERN INDIA. By Ramananda Chatterjee, The "Modern Review" Office, Calcutta.

RANGPUR TO-DAY. By J. N. Gupta, M.A., I.C.S., Published by S. B. Chakravarty, Shampuker, Calcutta.

PRINCIPLES OF EDUCATION. By Mrs. Annie Besant. "Commonweal" Office, Adyar.

ESSAYS AND LECTURES ON THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA AND OTHER INDIAN SUBJECTS. By Pramatha Nath Bose, B. Sc., Newmap & Co., Calcutta.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- April 20. Violent infantry engagements on Prince Rupprecht's and the Crown Prince's battle fronts.
- April 21. A German wireless says: "We have opened the way to the Crimea after overcoming resistance."
- April 22. In the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law announced that the Irish Home-Rule Bill will be introduced shortly.
- April 23. Mr. M. K. Gandhi made a statement regarding the Kaira ryots at a public meeting in Bombay presided over by the Hon. Mr. Patel.
- April 24. Mr. Austin Chamberlain has been returned to the cabinet.
- April 25. The Kaiser watched the battle for Kemmel Hill.
- April 26. Annual meeting of the Bombay Mill Owners Association Sir D. E. Wacha presiding.
- April 27. H. E. the Viceroy opened the War Conference at Delhi with an address on the present situation and a message from H. M. the King.
- April 28. British line in the western front restored.
- April 29. Brig. Gen. Sir William Manning has been appointed Governor of Ceylon.
Conclusion of the Delhi War Conference Report of the committees on manpower and resources.
- April 30. Japanese cabinet crisis.
Queen Mary's message to the army.
- May 1. An order in Council is gazetted further postponing the national Service order as regards Ireland.
- May 2. British air activity on Italian front. Fighting in the river Jordan in Palestine.
British reply to Dutch note. German occupation of Sevastapol.
- May 3. Meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay.
- May 4. Mr. Gandhi has replied to the Press note issued by the Bombay Government re the Kaira distress.
- May 5. Mr. Gandhi opened the Delhi Swadeshi Co-operative Stores.
- May 6. Australians' dashing assault in the Western front.
Destruction of the German long range guns bombarding Paris.
- May 7. General Maurice's indictment against the British Military policy.
- May 8. Debate in the Commons re-Gen. Maurice's allegations against the Ministry.
- May 9. The twenty-fourth Madras Provincial Conference met to-day at Conjeevaram Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding.
- May 10. The tenth Madras Educational Conference met at Conjeevaram to-day.
- May 11. The Twentieth Madras Social Conference was held at Conjeevaram with the Hon. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar in the chair.
- May 12. Reuter's cable announces that the House of Commons has passed a vote of confidence in the present Ministry.
- May 13. It is announced that Mr. E. S. Montagu has arrived safe in London and that he will make a statement in Parliament at the earliest opportunity on constitutional reforms in India. The American Labour Mission was entertained to dinner at the House of Commons.
- May 14. The Asiatic Society's triennial Gold Medal was presented to Mr. Vincent A. Smith to-day.
The grant is announced of six Commissions as temporary Honorary Second Lieutenants in the Indian Army to Indians of the United Provinces for recruiting services.
- May 15. Mr. Montagu had an audience of H. M. the King to-day.
- May 16. Their Majesties the King and Queen received the American Labour Delegation at Buckingham palace.
- May 17. The eighth session of the all-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference began to-day at Bombay, the Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy presiding.

Literary

THE PRESS AND THE WAR

Mr. Walter Williams, the President of "the Press Congress of the World," brings this terrible indictment against certain news agencies in the course of a letter :—

In one sense this hideous war was made by the world's press. If the Journalism of Europe had been for a century free to publish the news uncolored by Government influence or dictation, if it had been free to discuss in public the machinations of secret diplomacy, this frightful strife would not have come. Certainly national antagonisms were increased and racial hatreds embittered by the international news served out from official or semi-official courses by the Wolff Agency in Germany, Reuter's in England, and Hayas in France, the Correspondent Wilhelm in Austria, the Stelanic in Italy, the Ministry of the Telegraph—frankly official—in Russia, the Koksai in Japan and others in other lands. The international news thus circulated was seldom the actual truth—it was what the Government wished the people of their own nation and the government and peoples of other nations to think was the truth. Many others than Bismarck manipulated the editorials and the news dispatches. Nor has the tribe disappeared from earth.

SUCCESS IN AUTHORSHIP

The question why some books succeed, while others, in no way inferior, fail to stir the public is indeed a perplexing one. To this question I can give a precise if unilluminating answer, *Nobody knows!* M. Albert Cim has recently made a careful study of this subject in *La Revue*, and he reaches the conclusion that neither the author's name nor his talent, neither the subject of a book nor its opportune appearance, neither its favourable reception by the critics nor the

skill and energy of its publisher, nor even all these combined, can make a book sure of success. His statistics of book, that fail, should deter all but the most determined authors. Out of 1,000 books that are published, 600 do not pay their expenses; 200 just cover their cost, leaving nothing for the writer; 100 show a slight profit, and only 100 others justify themselves as articles of commerce. And among this 1,000 books, 650 are forgotten at the end of a year, 150 more at the end of three years, 50 survive to the age of seven, and a dozen at the most, are spoken of twenty years after their appearance. Truly, the trade of author, like that of him who gathers samphire, is "dreadful."—*The Athenæum*.

ONE MAN, ONE PAPER

Mr. J. A. Spender writes in *Westminster Gazette* :—

"If a law could be framed to prevent one man from owning more than one newspaper, I believe the journalists of the country would be heartily in favour of it. The tyranny of which the House of Commons complains falls heaviest on them. They of all men can have no sympathy with a system which limits their freedom, reduces their opportunities, and is constantly diminishing the honour and dignity of their profession. It is no consolation to them that a few magnates should at this cost be able to forge an instrument of terror at which Ministers tremble and Governments fall."

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE WAR.

We have once had occasion to review the war cartoons of Dinoo S. Bagtavalala the thirteen year old grand daughter of Sir Dinsha Wacha. "Stray Thoughts" is a refreshing narrative of the causes and main events of the war treated as H. E. Lady Willingdon graciously says in the preface "with an intelligence, a grasp of fact and principle and a power of expression much beyond her years." The sale proceeds of this handsome book are to be devoted to some charities.

Educational

DR. SADDLER ON THE GURUKULA

Dr. Saddler, of the Calcutta University Commission, in the course of a letter to Principal Ram Deva of the Gurukula, observes:—

My day in the Gurukula will be one of the most vivid memories of my life.

The prayer in the Sandhya is one in which, with hardly a change, all believers of the different churches and Religions of the world may join with heartfelt unity and common aspiration.

I feel in deep sympathy with your desire to strengthen the self-control of the boys and young men under your care and with your conviction that a Way of Life, dutifully followed, is an essential part of education and of self-training.

Not less do I share your belief that every young student-boy or girl should be trained skilfully in the study or use of the mother tongue. The freedom of the operation of the mind and the ready but controlled discharge of the emotions and spirited aspiration through the most expressive words, seems to me to be bound up with an education in which the trained power of using the mother tongue holds a primary and highly honoured place.

And I am sanguine enough to believe that this kind of training in the mother tongue (apart from the mental liberty and native power which it promotes and develops) is not incompatible with a mastery of a foreign tongue, provided that the latter, as a second language, is taught from early years by intensive methods as living speech by instructors who are both competent and cultivated.

I cherish the hope that, in time to come, the Gurukula may be itself a University recognised by the State, and that it may stand in such relation to other Universities that is, if they like they may benefit by the reciprocal action of their tuitions.

THE SIR W. WEDDERBURN PRIZE

A note in the current number of the *Fergusson College Magazine* runs:—

We have to acknowledge thankfully that we have received from S. R. Bomanji Esq., of Bombay the donation of Rs. 1,000 referred to above for founding a prize in honour of Sir W. Wedderburn on the following conditions:

The prize is to be named after the late Sir William Wedderburn and is to be awarded every year to a student who passes the Intermediate Examination in Arts or Science in the First Class and who has not, on the results of that examination, secured from the College other prizes of a value exceeding Rs. 100, it being understood that the student should continue to study for the B. A. or B. Sc. Examination at the Fergusson College.

PHRENOLOGY IN THE SCHOOLS

Many phrenologists are of opinion that educational authorities should have a qualified phrenologist to assist schoolmasters and mistresses in dealing with the children in their charge. We have doctors, nurses, dentists—in some cases free meals are provided—and the children are being studied more and more from a personal standpoint. The phrenologist would be of great assistance in pointing out the latent powers and natural gifts of any child. There can be no true psychology apart from phrenology, and at present phrenology is neglected where it should be of most value—in the Schools.—*The Phrenologist*.

PALI MANUSCRIPTS

In the matter of certain manuscripts said to be preserved in the India Office, the Burma Educational Syndicate have received intimation that the Government of India have made reference to the Under-Secretary of State for India requesting the return to Burma of the manuscripts after the war. Steps are being taken to complete all defective manuscripts and ascertaining their value.

Legal

THE LEGAL PROFESSION IN AMERICA

At the first State banquet given at the White House after the organisation of the Supreme Court of the United States, President Washington announced:—"The Chief Justice will sit at my right hand." Ever since that time the Supreme Court Judges, who are nine in number have taken rank next to the President and the Vice-President in official circles, and their wives make first calls only at the White House and the Vice-President's house. No other country possesses so powerful a tribunal as the United States Supreme Court, which may nullify the most solemnly considered Acts of Congress. A cogent retort made by a lawyer appearing in a case before this Court serves to illustrate the summary authority vested in it. As he was stating some legal proposition one of the judges interposed, "But that is not the law." "It was," replied counsel, with a bow, "until the Court spoke."—*Manchester Guardian*.

"HALF A GERMAN"

Mr. Justice Shaw of the Colombo Chief Court on the 19th instant delivered judgment in the Hatton case, Mr. C. E. Gulick, of Delta, Pussellawa v. Mr. L. B. Green, of St. Andrew's, Talawakele, for Rs. 10,000 damages for calling him "half-a-German, indeed three parts of one," in a letter to Mr. A. E. Curtois. The District Judge gave judgment for plaintiff for Rs. 500 and costs.

CANADA'S NEW NATURALIZATION LAW

The Vancouver *Daily Sun* tells of the new rules under which Canada now enrolls citizens: "An important change in Canada's naturalization laws has become effective with the new year. Formerly, the period of residence required to secure naturalization was three years. Henceforth it will be five. On the other hand, the brand of naturalization formerly granted was not recognized outside of Canada. In future it will be good anywhere in his Majesty's dominions.

"Under the old system an American citizen, for instance, might come to Canada, spend three years here, and take out his papers. He thereby acquired all the rights of a British subject so long as he remained in this country. But if he moved to Australia or England he had to put in another period of residence and take out another set of papers. This is now done away with. He can move from Canada to Australia and find himself in the same legal position as if he moved from British Columbia to Alberta. Everywhere under the flag his rights will be the same.

This change has been brought about as the result of an agreement reached at the imperial conference some years ago and implemented by concurrent legislation in all parts of the Empire."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF CEYLON

Mr. H. C. Gollan, Attorney-General, Trinidad, has been appointed Attorney-General, Ceylon. Mr. Gollan is the son of the late Sir Alexander Gollan, K.C.M.G. He was educated at Charterhouse and Edinburgh University and called to the Bar in 1891, Northern circuit. He practised in London till 1899, when he became Private Secretary to Sir Frederick Lugard, and went to Northern Nigeria with him and became first Attorney-General and then Chief Justice in 1901. Three years later found him in Bermuda as Chief Justice and President of the Legislative Council. He was transferred to Trinidad in 1911, as Attorney-General.

FORENSIC BULLYING

It seems late in the day for a country court judge to have to appeal to the Bar Council for a ruling on the methods of cross-examination of counsel who seek by implication to defame witnesses. Judges do protect witnesses, yet the complaint of the person in the box is more or less permanent. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn declared that witnesses were "badgered, browbeaten, and in every way brutally maltreated in English courts."—*Daily Chronicle*.

Medical

THE ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC CONFERENCE

Vaidyaratna Pandit D. Gopalcharlu, President of the ninth session of the All-India Ayurvedic Conference, which recently held its sittings at Lahore, made a very interesting speech in opening the proceedings of the Conference on Friday. Referring to the inadequacy of the existing facilities for treatment of diseases he quoted certain telling figures. He said:—"There are now in India 4,362 hospitals in which 670 thousand inpatients and 371 lakhs and 59 thousand out-patients are being treated. This shows that there is at present one hospital for 55,000 persons and one allopathic doctor for 42,000 persons. The cost of treating each patient varies from 3 pies to 15 pies."

ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS LEAGUE

The fifth annual report of the King George the Fifth Anti-Tuberculosis League presented at the annual meeting in Bombay states that during 1917, by a generous subscription from the Western India Turf Club amounting to rupees two lakhs, the League was able to acquire a suitable property for a sanatorium within the town. Interesting results of the tuberculin treatment are recorded. Tuberculin was applied in 252 cases with extreme care and in suitable cases only, and the results show that 110 patients benefited; the disease remained stationary in 38 cases; in nine cases the disease became worse; two patients died, and the results could not be traced in eleven cases.

DRINK AND MESOPOTAMIA

Sir Victor Horsley the well-known surgeon, who laid down his life in Mesopotamia while serving the troops, made the following observations on the drink habit in the army:—

The directors of military operations are practically all whisky drinkers, and, therefore, wish the soldiers to drink too. Out here in this horrid

climate they actually still issue rum instead of food and sterilised water, and, as a result, we now have cholera, dysentery, and diarrhoea to contend with. Anyone would suppose that no military medical history had ever been written or published. Our gross failures and stupidity are, in my opinion, due to the whisky affecting the intellectual organs and clearness of our leaders. The King is the head of the Army: as he went teetotal for national safety, every military mess ought to have followed him. Not one did! It is a repulsive exhibition of selfishness and luxurious treachery to our country.

SANITARY WARNINGS

The Wealth of India writes:—

Headache is nature's warning that the human machine is running badly.

Bullets may kill thousands—flies kill by tens of thousands.

Efficient muzzling of dogs will eradicate rabies.

The protection of the health of children is the first duty of a nation.

Bad temper is sometimes merely a symptom.

In the lexicon of health there is no such word as "neutrality" against disease.

INDIAN WAR MEMORIAL

The Government of India have decided to establish an Indian War Memorial in Delhi, to collect trophies illustrative of the part taken by India in the defence of the Empire. It will be on lines similar to those of the Imperial War Memorial in England, except that it will concern itself only with those fields where troops from India have been employed or with forms of economic and other assistance afforded by the Indian Empire. Persons possessed of trophies, record books, pictures, photographs, posters and also information about material in money or kind contributed from India for the war, which are suitable for exhibition in the Indian War Memorial, are invited to present, lend or sell them to the Indian War Memorial Committee, Simla.

Science

NICKEL PAPER

Mr. Thomas Edison, the noted American inventor, states that he can produce thin sheets of steel, copper, or nickel that would, so far as books are concerned, serve every purpose for which paper is now employed. Mr. Edison considers nickel to be the best metal for this purpose and states that he can produce sheets only one twenty-thousandth of an inch in thickness, and these will be cheaper, tougher, and more flexible than ordinary book paper. In the Edison Laboratory a sheet of nickel paper with an area of five square feet can be produced within a minute and a half, but for ordinary commercial purposes the material would be made in long rolls, as is now the case with paper. The advantages of the metal sheets include non-inflammability, the capability of being soaked in water without damage, and a vast reduction in bulk when compared with paper, as a single small volume could contain many thousands of leaves.

A NEW FUEL

The discovery of a motor fuel containing neither petrol, coal, gas, nor alcohol is announced by the French journal *L'Auto*. This new hydrocarbon is said to be obtained by extraction from heavy oils derived from the chemical treatment of coal. The process is one in which, moreover, by-products of value in the manufacture of explosives are fully conserved. Tests made with private cars of medium power have shown excellent results, hill climbing performances leaving nothing at all to be desired. This new fuel is said to be extremely economical in use.

THE USE OF GAS

Gas is now in use in Bombay for gold melting; soap boiling; brazing and every conceivable purpose for which heat and power are required; since it is found the heat can be regulated to a nicety impossible with solid fuel.

THE PURSUIT OF SCIENCE

Science for science's sake, like art for art's sake, may be a noble sentiment, but its limitations should not be lost sight of. Society is justified in asking of every scientist, as of every other man, of what use can you be in the body-politic? But though there is no place for the useless, usefulness may not always be at once apparent. "It is perfectly natural," said John Tyndal, "or persons who have little taste for scientific enquiries and less knowledge of the methods of Nature, to feel amused, if not scandalized, by the apparently insignificant subjects which sometimes engage the scientific mind. They are not aware that in science the most stupendous phenomena often find their suggestion and interpretation in the most minute—that the smallest laboratory fact is connected by indissoluble ties with the grandest operations of Nature." Huxley, also, long since pointed out that as Saul found a kingdom while seeking his fathers' asses, so many great discoveries have resulted from the pursuit of illusions which seemed asinine to the uninitiated.—*Science*.

TIMBER AND TRENCH BUILDING

The *Scientific American* gives some idea of the enormous amount of timber which is used in trench building. It says.—

Reliable estimates of the amount of timber which has gone into the shoring up of trenches and dug-outs, and into artillery and trench screens are not available, but the quantity, on the hundreds of miles of front, surely totals up to several hundreds of millions of feet. On the statement of a French colonel it is learned that as high as 30,000 trees were used daily by a single French army corps.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR COTTON

It is reported that the French have discovered a substitute for cotton, obtained from a plant called typha, which grows in marsh land and swamps. The experiments with the plant are said to have been satisfactory.

Personal

PROF. KARVE'S JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS

Prof. Dhondo Keshao Karve completed sixty years of his life on the 18th April and his jubilee was celebrated with great eclat at Hingne Budruk, the scene of his lifelong labours, by his friends and admirers, a large number of whom had travelled long distances to partake in or attend the jubilee celebrations. Two addresses were presented to Mr. Karve on behalf of the lady students in replying to which he declared his intention of devoting the rest of his life to the elevation of Indian womanhood.

A purse containing nearly two thousand and five hundred rupees was presented to Prof. Karve. In his reply to the address Mr. Karve announced that he would devote the amount to the women's cause which he had so much at heart. This was followed by the opening ceremony by Dr. Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar of an oil painting of the professor.

SIR IBRAHIM RAHIMTULLA

On the motion of Dr. N. H. E. Sukhia, the Bombay Corporation recorded a letter from the Hon. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla thanking them for the resolution they had passed in recording his resignation. Sir Ibrahim in his letter stated: "I well remember the time when more than a quarter of a century ago I first joined the Corporation, a Councillor unknown to public life; the only merit claimed by him being a great enthusiasm to do his best in the service of the city of which we are all so proud. I must gratefully acknowledge the fact that I have received great encouragement from the members of the Corporation, both individually and collectively, in my humble efforts to discharge my duties. If my work in the service of the public in various capacities, to which you refer in such appreciative terms, has achieved some success, however insignificant, it is wholly due to the Bombay

Municipal Corporation which has provided all the facilities and training for the same. I can never forget the deep debt of gratitude which I owe to it for all the help I have received. Kindly convey to the Councillors my grateful thanks for the cordiality of their congratulations and tell them that it is a matter of great regret to me to have to give up my duties on the Corporation, to miss its interesting meetings and to lose the opportunity of frequently meeting my valued colleagues with whom I have had most cordial relations. With renewed thanks for the Corporation's appreciation and good wishes."

INDIAN V.C.'S EXPLOIT

The *Daily News* writes:—

Jemadar (Lieut.) Gobind Singh, whose V. C. was gazetted on Jan. 11, has been visiting London on short leave from the Western front, where his cavalry regiment is stationed. The squadron to which he was attached found itself cut off from the armies operating against the Germans near Cambrai. The men dug themselves in, and the officer in command, finding it imperative to get into communication with the General Staff, asked for a volunteer to carry his dispatch. Several Indians attempted it, but were shot down.

Gobind Singh, then a lance-sergeant, asked the commander to let him try his luck, and he galloped into "No Man's Land" and made for his objective. The German machine-guns riddled his horse's body, describing with their bullets, on either side of the animal, a curve the shape of his leg, not far from where it hung down from the saddle. The horse fell under him, but the rider escaped, and completed on foot the 600 yards of his journey that remained. The Germans gave chase, firing all the time, but Gobind Singh kept ahead of them, and counterfire from the isolated Indian squadron stopped the pursuers, and he successfully performed his mission,

Political

BRITISH SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The self-sufficiency of the Britisher is proverbial. He considers himself, says the *Servant of India*, a 'superior person' and is always conscious of it. He thinks he must bear the 'white man's burden' at all places and in all circumstances. It would appear that now the British woman is peeping out upon the scene and preparing to share the 'burden'. Last week the *Times of India* adumbrated the idea of a Women's Imperial Service which, we must own, fills us with grave apprehensions. In addition to the recently formed Women's Indian Medical Service and the Indian Educational Service, the *Times* unfolds a long list of careers for English girls as to "welfare workers, English advisers to various Samaj and social service movements, factory inspectresses, health-visitors, etc." Instead of opportunities for service to the Empire, we are inclined to regard these in the light of fat jobs for average English girls and as such we should like to warn public men in India to be on their guard in this matter. Valuable guidance and advice we want from all quarters and we are ready to pay for them. But we do not want an indifferent article and to be called upon to pay an extravagant price for it, as is likely if the above schemes be put into operation. We have had exploitation enough in the past by British men. Now the British woman seem to cherish the desire to have a hand in the game.

DR. DILLON ON IRISH DEMAND

"His own task would be to tell England before the world that her statesmen must cease to talk of a League of Nations, or to pretend that this war was in defence of small nationalities, until she put her own house in order and set free a country that had for 700 years groaned under her Government. That was the message which he would convey on behalf of the Nationalists of the world to the Government of England."

I. C. S. ANOMALY

The present anomalous position of the Indian Civil Service was well described by Sir Thomas Holderness, in a recent lecture. The 'I. C. S.,' he observed, 'is a great puzzle to many. They say, 'We understand what the Civil Service here in England is. If we want to buy a postage stamp or to take out a dog license, we know that the person who serves is a civil servant. And it is a civil servant who duns us for our taxes. But in India the Civil Service seems something different. The civil servant there seems the master as well as servant. He not merely carries out orders, but gives orders. He is servant and master in one. Is not that curious?'

WAR AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The London correspondent of the *Times of India* has the following doleful tale to disclose:—

'The atmosphere is big with fate,
The Hun is knocking at the gate,
And from the Yser to the Don,
His serried hosts go trampling on.
With straining eyes and bated breath,
Men watch the play of Life and Death
Not knowing what the day may bring,
Or how the scales of doom will swing.
But down at Westminster you'll find,
They keep a far more tranquil mind,
And on the benches sit at ease
Not much perturbed by things like these.
Though Empires crash and kingdoms fall,
Still flows the stream rhetorical;
Still M. P.'s strive, while nations die,
To rivet Mr. Speaker's eye,
And gird at one another still,
With words that wound but do not kill.
The Private Member airs his hobby,
The Whip stands vigilant at the lobby,
The Minister is keen to note
Not what men think but how men vote;
And through all changes runs the same
Unchanged, unending Party Game.'

General

BRAHMANA AND NON-BRAHMANA

In the course of his reminiscences of the Madras Bench and Bar Mr. Eardley Norton writes in the *Looker-on* :—

My life and career in India has brought me into close and confidential relationship with Indians over the greater portion of our wonderful Empire. And in their gradual political emancipation I have as full and abiding trust as I have a first hand knowledge of their loyal and successful interpretation of their judicial obligations. I pretend to give advice to no one, and I have as many pleasant acquaintances among the non-Brahmanas as I have among the Brahmanas of Southern India. That there is a cleavage to-day between the two races is undeniable. I will not widen the unhappy differences by imputing bad faith or a "hidden hand" to the non-Brahmana revolt. I can understand and sympathise with the desire to break Brahmana ascendancy and to throw off the centuries-old *formulae* and ritual which have placed the Sudras under its priestly influence. The only way, however, to get rid of the incubus is not by splitting the political union, but by rising against and rejecting the fetters which have bound the non-Brahmana to the chariot wheels of his more assertive rival. Someone must begin the insurrection, even if it entail self-sacrifice. Refuse the *Namaskaram* to the first Brahmana you meet, turn his priest out of doors, deny him permission to perform the ceremonies which attend marriages and deaths. Emancipation and a new life can only be achieved by active insurrection. It will win nothing by grandiloquent speeches, by guady resolutions and eleemosynary appeal to Government to distribute its patronage proportionately between the conflicting sects. Whether, as some assert, the non-Brahmana revolt is engineered or whether it makes the spontaneous self-assertion

of a community bent upon freedom from the fetters of superstition, authority laughs in secret at resistance which is content with a flux of words. It plays paternally with its puppets. But it will yield only to acts and not to oratory..

The Gods here men's thanks before their lips,
And heed beyond all crying and sacrifice
Light of things done and noise of labouring
men.

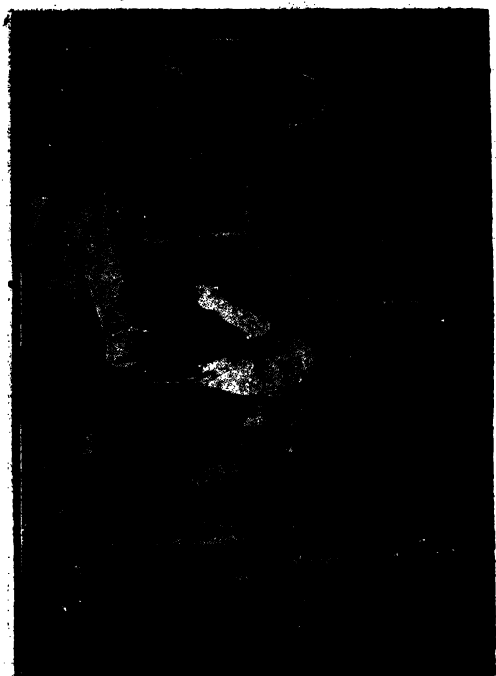
I know many Brahmana gentlemen who are in complete sympathy with the Sudra desire for greater grasp upon the prizes of an official career.

But that must come by effort from within, not by Government action. I would illustrate my position by one example only. If to-day there were an Indian vacancy in the Madras High Court Bench, is it not obvious that in the public interest it must go to a Brahmana Vakil because there is no non-Brahmana qualified for the moment to dispute his superiority? Do the non-Brahmanas seriously wish to stop all legal promotion among Indians until in the years to come the non-Brahmanas shall be ready to enter upon the race? There is only one honest rule in life, the best man for the best place. That the Governments in India constantly violate it does not detract from its honesty or its soundness. So far as the law goes the best man to-day in Madras is the Brahmana. Sankaran Nair was the exception which proved the rule. Let other Sankaran Nairs arise and all the legal world will acclaim their presence on the Bench.

A CURIOUS FUND.

An annual income of £2,400 for the wives of Presidents of the United States is provided in a fund from the estate of Mr. Henry G. Freeman, an American millionaire, who recently died in Philadelphia. "The reason I make this fund," he explained in his will, "is because I feel that the President of the United States receives such a miserable pittance for the man holding the greatest position on earth."

JOSEPH CAILLAUD



THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST.

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Responsible Government in the Dominions

BY "POLITICUS"

IN Mr. Montagu's pronouncement of the 20th of August 1917 the goal of British policy is stated to be "the progressive realisation of Responsible Government in India, as an integral part of the British Empire." The words "Responsible Government" here appear for the first time in any official pronouncement on Indian Policy. If there was at first any doubt as to the sense in which these words were intended to be used by the British Cabinet, it has been set aside by the clear statement of Sir James Meston, one of India's representatives at the last Imperial War Conference, who, addressing the Convocation of the Allahabad University, used the following words:—

The British Government has announced that the ideal for India is Responsible Government, which means the *administration of the country by an executive authority responsible through an elective legislature to the people*: and we now have to shape our course towards that goal.

At present the Government of India and those of the Provinces are answerable to, and removable by, the British electorate through Parliament and the Secretary of State. The Imperial Government now looks forward to a time when those executives will all be answerable to, and removable by Indian electorates through elected Legislatures. We see thus that in this latest pronouncement, the goal prescribed for India is identified with that already attained by the self-governing Dominions: a brief description of the system of Responsible Government in the Dominions will not, therefore, be out of place here.

MEANING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The introduction of Responsible Government is inseparably connected with the name of Lord Durham and his report of January 31st, 1839, on the condition of Canada. His exposition of the character of Responsible Government might be accepted even at the present day; in rejecting the proposed solution of the constitutional question by the expedient of an elected Executive Council—an idea which has analogies in early English constitutional history, he wrote:—

Every purpose of popular control might be combined with every advantage of vesting the immediate choice of advisers in the Crown, were the colonial Governor to be instructed to secure the corporation of the Assembly in his policy by entrusting its administration to such men as could command a majority, and if he were given to understand that he need count of no aid from home in any difference with the Assembly that should not directly involve the relations of the Mother Country and the Colony.

Lord Durham gave a list of matters in which he considered Imperial interference justified: this list contains only 'the constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and the disposal of the public lands.' To this list of exceptions to the rule of Self-Government must of course now be added military and naval affairs. In all other matters the Colonists were to have a free hand, as they were most interested in their own administration and legislation, and were those on whom the result of unsatisfactory government first recoiled.

Sir Charles Lucas is more explicit on this point. He says:—

Responsible Government means party government. The executive officers are chosen from the party which has gained a majority at the last General Election. They sit in one or other of the two Houses of Parliament, and they are in effect controlled by the elected House—The House of Commons, or rather by the dominant party in that House. This is the English system: The English view of political liberty involves the subordination of the executive power to the Legislature.

"The essence of Responsible Government," said an eminent English statesman, the late Lord Derby, "is that mutual bond of responsibility to Parliament one for another, wherein a Government acting by party go together, frame their measures in concert, and where if one member falls to the ground, the others almost as a matter of course fall with him." From this description of Responsible Government it follows that Responsible Government is practically synonymous with Parliamentary Government (as it prevails in Great Britain and her Colonies) which implies that:—

(a) At the head of the Government is a person in whose name all executive acts are done, and who is irresponsible and irremovable.

(b) His acts are done by the advice, and on the responsibility, of ministers chosen nominally by him but really by the representatives of the people, usually but not necessarily, from among the members of the Legislature.

(c) The representatives are, therefore, through the agents whom they select, the true Government of the country.

(d) When the representative assembly ceases to trust these agents (or ministers) the latter (unless they dissolve the legislature) resign, and a new set is appointed.

(e) Thus the executive as well as the legislative power belongs to the majority of the representative chamber.

(f) As the Legislature is thus in a sense the Executive so the Executive Government—the Council of Ministers or Cabinet—is in so far

Legislative that the initiation of measures rest very largely with them.

(g) The sovereignty of the Legislature is more or less complete—specially so far as the power of the purse is concerned.

(h) The Legislature and the Executive settle their disputes without reference to the judiciary.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT: THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OR THE GOVERNOR

The Governor of a Colony or State and the Governor-General of a Federation or Union are alike appointed by the Imperial Government, technically by the king on the advice of the appropriate minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Of course, in the case of the great appointments, those to Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa, the Prime Minister is usually consulted. It is now the usual practice to informally consult the Government of the Dominion or State in question. The Governor-General and the Governor alike are authorised—the former by Letters Patent under statute, the latter by Letters Patent,—to appoint deputies whose appointment is limited by the instruments appointing them, and whose existence does not hamper in any way the action of the Governor-General or Governor. The salary of a Colonial Governor is paid in every case of the Responsible Government Colonies by the Colony of which he is Governor. All communications meant for the Colonial Secretary of State has to pass through the Governor to whom also all replies are sent by him. The Colonial Secretary has the full right to publish all or any of the despatches that he receives from the Governor whether they are public, confidential or secret.

The Governor is appointed by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, and the appointment which is an act of royal prerogative is accompanied by royal instructions under the sign manual and

signet amplifying the Letters Patent. Though the Governor has the full executive authority needed for the government of the Colony he is not in possession of all the royal authority, but only of such part as is expressly or impliedly entrusted to him. "The Governor in fact can legally do, not what the Crown can do, but what the Crown has entrusted to him, or what is vested in him by Legislation." The Governor, for example, cannot coin money, grant Charters of Incorporation, confer honours of any sort, or perform the act of investiture of a man with an order granted by the Crown, without special permission from the Crown. "He does not possess the right to proclaim war or peace; of course, he could take steps, whenever necessary to repel an invasion of the territory of the Colony of which he was Governor. Nor, again, does he possess the power of making treaties without special authority." He has also none of the privileges of a Viceroy, for he is liable to be sued not only for private debts, but also for acts done in his official position as Governor.

One point, however, should be clearly noted, viz., the dual position of the Colonial Governor as head of a Responsible Government, Colony or Dominion and as an Imperial Officer acting in the Imperial interest. In his former capacity he is responsible so far as the head of Government can be responsible to the people of the Colony but he cannot be dismissed by them in the latter capacity, he is responsible to the Crown advised by the Ministry of the day and removable by him. The Colonial Governor is thus open to criticism not only by the Colonial Parliament, but he is subject to it from the Imperial Parliament as well.

THE GOVERNOR AND MINISTERS

In a Responsible Government Colony the actual government does not any longer rest in the hands of the Governor, but is entrusted to Ministers possessing the confidence of Parliament. As head

of the Colonial Government the Governor acts with the advice and consent of the Ministers and can rarely, if ever, carry his policy into effect without intervention, so that his disagreement with Ministers must always result in either his giving way or in the yielding of his Ministers or in their resignation or even dismissal. The Governor may decline the advice of Ministers when he thinks fit and may also dissolve Parliament. Armed with this power of dissolution the Governor is enabled to play an important part in the Government of any Colony when the state of parties is at all equally divided. As an Agent of the Imperial Government also the Governor acts with the advice and consent of his Ministers: but he may, if he shall see sufficient cause to dissent from the opinion of the Council, act in opposition to their opinion, reporting forthwith his action and the grounds thereof to the Colonial Secretary of State. In form this practice may appear to be in conflict with the established rule that, in a Responsible Government Colony, the Governor must, as a rule, act on the advice of and through the agency of his Ministers: but it should not be forgotten that the Governor is the servant of the Crown and the guardian of Imperial interests and that, as such, he must on Imperial grounds and in obedience to Imperial instruction occasionally differ from ministerial advice and act in opposition to the advice of his Ministers: and if the Ministers insist that they have the constitutional right to resign in the circumstances leaving the Governor to yield or to find new Ministers "it is theoretically possible to secure obedience by revoking the constitution of the Dominion concerned."

As an Imperial Officer the Governor is, of course, bound to follow the directions of the Secretary of State. Such obedience is indeed expressly laid down in his Letters Patent where it is provided that the Governor is to follow the instructions given him either by Order in Council

or under the Sign Manual, or through a Secretary of State. The Imperial control can be exercised at any moment by the recall of the Governor, who is appointed nominally for a term of six years.

THE DOMINION CABINET

Like the English Cabinet the Members of the Dominion Cabinets are chosen by the Prime Minister from either House of the Dominion Legislature and form, along with others, the Executive Council of the Dominion. In the Colonies the membership of the Privy Council is purely honorary giving the member the right to the title 'Honorable' and to the special precedence assigned to Privy Councillors not of the Cabinet, and to be present when the Governor is sworn in. Like the English Cabinet, too, ministers resign their membership of the legislature on appointment and the resignation of the Premier breaks up the Ministry. But unlike the English Cabinet system, however, the Colonial Cabinet system lacks clearly defined parties and is deficient in coherence and decision—the result is that the habit of ready obedience to the head of the Ministry does not always obtain, the sense of party loyalty is weak and no Government in the Colonies would accept dismissal except on a direct vote of no confidence, or on a crushing defeat at the polls. There is, however, one peculiarity in Colonial Cabinet Government which has had no precise parallel in the English Cabinet system prior to Mr. Lloyd George's new model *viz.* the presence in each cabinet of some members without portfolio or definite duties.

In performing their duties Ministers have no Parliamentary assistance in the shape of Under-Secretaries, etc. Each State Department is controlled under the Minister by a deputy head but the Minister himself is expected to do a great deal, even of the minor work of his department; and the Governor in some cases

takes a very real and active interest in the process of Government. The system is, perhaps, seen in its most complete form in Canada where the work of Government apart from petty detail, is done by the Cabinet sitting as a whole. Its decisions are embodied with explanatory notes in minutes which are then submitted to the Governor-General for approval. On receiving his signature they become orders in Council, and until they receive that approval are of no effect.

THE DOMINION LEGISLATURES.

The original settlers in the British Colonies carried with them the ideas and traditions of English political life, and when the time came to evolve a political constitution, they naturally adhered to the system under which they lived in their original home—England. The result is that the Colonial political institutions bear a close resemblance to those of the Mother Country. Thus the Dominion Legislatures are, like the Mother of Parliament, bicameral, the Lower House (styled either House of Commons, House of Assembly or Legislative Assembly) is in every case a popular body elected on a low franchise (generally manhood suffrage) but the Upper House (called a Senate or the Legislative Council) is either elective or nominated. In the case of the elective Upper Houses the general rule is that the franchise is higher than that for the Lower House, the Legislative Councillor having some property qualification and being above thirty years of age; in the case of nominee chambers the Councillors are summoned by the Governor-General or Governor, in the King's name and hold their places for life (though they have the right to resign) or during His Majesty's pleasure. Whether the Upper House is elective or nominated, it cannot, like the British House of Lords, originate Money Bills which must be recommended to the Lower House by the Governor but it can, unlike the British House of Lords since

1911, reject them. "In a sense, indeed, the Upper House is inferior: partly tradition and still more the lack of financial initiation have produced the result that the Government of the day is controlled by the wishes of the Lower House, not of the Upper. But the Upper House exercises a quite independent function of criticism and objection."

The Colonial Legislatures have the fullest Legislative powers possible for the maintenance of "peace, order and good government" of the Colonies concerned. Like the Indian Legislative Council, the Colonial Legislatures are not delegates of the Imperial Parliament but can exercise their Legislative powers in a completely free manner, "subject only to the doctrine that their enactments must not go beyond the limits fixed for colonial legislation in general and for the particular legislature by the act or acts constituting it." Professor Keith enumerates these limitations as follows:—

- (1) That the legislature cannot abandon its functions by ceasing to be a colonial legislature and legislating for places beyond the territory of the Colony, including in this expression the territorial waters of the Colony.
- (2) That any part of its legislation which is in conflict with an Imperial Act or order or regulation made under an act and applying to the Colony is invalid.
- (3) That it has full power to make laws respecting its own constitution, powers and procedure, provided that such laws are passed in such manner and form as may from time to time be required by any Act of Parliament, Letter Patent, Order in Council, or Colonial law for the time being in forces in the Colony.


The result of these limitations of the powers of colonial legislatures is, in short, that the colonial legislature can neither give up its existence as a legislature, nor sever the connection between it and the mother country: nor can it abolish the position of the Governor as the representative of the Crown. Though the colonial legislatures are

free to legislate within these limits, their action is subject to control by the Imperial Government. This control is exercised by the Imperial Government in two ways: either the Colonial Act is never permitted to come into operation, or, if it becomes operative, is disallowed, or the Imperial Parliament itself legislates, thus removing all possibility of effective Colonial legislation. Then, again, all Colonial Acts require the concurrence of the Colonial Governor, as the representative of the King. In no case is the Governor bound to give such assent: he has an absolute discretion to refuse to assent to any and every Bill, and in some cases he is bound to refuse to assent and to reserve the Bill for the consideration of the Home Government. The list of subjects which generally require reservation is as follows (1) the treatment of public lands, (2) divorce legislations, (3) currency, (4) differential duties and trade relations, (5) merchant shipping, (6) military and naval matters, (7) immigration, (8) Native policy, (9) legislation affecting the prerogatives of the Crown, (10) legislation affecting persons resident outside the Dominion.

Two other important points should be noticed here: (a) The constitution Acts of the Dominions nearly always give the power to the legislature to pass laws conferring on the Houses and their members the same privileges as those enjoyed by the House of Commons, or any less privileges; (b) the action of the Imperial Government as regards binding the Dominions by treaties is now guided by the two following principles:—(i) as far as possible, no treaty is made binding on any Dominion; (ii) His Majesty's Government are always ready to negotiate, with the help of the Dominion Government, special treaties for the Dominions, thus rendering the full support of the Empire to the desire of the several parts of it.

THE PROBLEM OF ALSACE-LORRAINE

BY THE REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER

N the imperativeness of the complete return and reparation for the wrongs of Belgium, and the solution of the problem of Alsace-Lorraine, the Allies are absolutely united. Not only have the Governments definitely declared their determination to fight to the very end, but every class has given support to these declarations. The Socialist parties in all the Allied countries have spoken clearly on the subject of Alsace-Lorraine, and it is difficult to imagine any conditions which would force these parties to withdraw their word. On the other hand, the German leaders, apparently supported by the Reichstag, and the Socialist parties, have definitely and emphatically declared that they will not consider the question. Baron von Kuhlmann, speaking before the Reichstag, said: "There is but one answer to the question. Can Germany in any form make any concessions with regard to Alsace-Lorraine? The answer is, No! never. 'So long as a single German hand can hold a gun, the integrity of the territory handed down to us as a glorious inheritance by our forefathers can never be the object of any negotiations or concessions.' There is scarcely a voice to be heard in support of this claim made by Germany, even among her Allies, for the letter of Emperor Karl sent to the French President, showed very clearly what the prevailing opinion of the Austrian people is. But the revelations have thrown the Emperor into the Kaiser's arms and he has now been forced to identify himself with the demands put forward by the German leaders. There have been times when men even in the Allied countries have had some doubts about the French claim, doubtless misled by the false reports issued by Germany, but the increased knowledge of the wishes of Alsace has shown more clearly than ever that any attempt to negotiate a peace which failed to

set right the wrong of 1871 would be fatal to any prospect of a settled Europe. The question is thus of supreme importance for the Allies and in order to make clear the issue it may be well to remind ourselves of the infamous act of the Prussian conqueror when he had brought stricken France to her knees and forced her to give up her prosperous provinces.

Though to-day attempts are being made in the German propaganda in allied and neutral countries to base their claim on the retention of Alsace-Lorraine on the fact that before these provinces became French they belonged to Germany, and that, in fact, a considerable number of the inhabitants spoke a form of the German language. While little importance need be attached to these historic associations, for on this principle large sections of Europe now living contentedly under the present Governments would be claimed both by France, Italy and Germany, it must never be forgotten that neither Bismarck nor the official organs of Germany ever put forward any other plea in justification of the conquest than the determination to separate Germany from France by a *glacis* "Strategic necessity" then, as in 1914, was the only claim set forth. "We want at least," said Bismarck, "to ensure our safety of our children, and for that reason there must be a *glacis* between France and us. We must have territory, fortresses, and frontiers that will protect us, once for all, against your attacks." At this late stage the attempts of a certain class of Germans to lay stress on the long, distant, historic association with Germany, will have little effect in view of the strong attachment the Alsatians have always shown to their own land. Nor, indeed, is there much point in the German claim that large numbers of Alsatians have gladly accepted German rule and are

more than contented with it. The Alsace of to-day is different from that of 1871, for it must be remembered that more than half a million inhabitants refused to remain in Alsace-Lorraine when the country was handed over to Germany, and their places have been filled with German emigrants. If, however, it were true that after a lapse of over forty years, the general feeling of the people had been favourable to Germany, then the question of again handing back these provinces to France, even though they were wrongfully torn from her, would have caused considerable heart searching in many people, especially if the desire to bring about the return involved the lives of thousands of brave men. But there is a little difference of opinion in any country about the righteousness of the Allies' determination to restore these provinces, and this confidence is based on the undisputed loyalty of the Alsations for France.

Though forcibly taken from her France has never ceased to repudiate the action of Prussia, and she has refused to consider a reconciliation which would have consigned the past into oblivion. Among the people there has never been the slightest tendency to detach themselves from France. During the war of 1870 they offered the most violent resistance to the German armies, and all the candidates for election to the National Assembly at Bordeaux undertook to oppose with all their strength the cession of their country. The moment the Assembly met, the members for Alsace and Lorraine solemnly placed before it a unanimous declaration affirming the determination of their electors to remain French. The Alsatian spokesman said: "I appeal to posterity, who will judge us all. I appeal to the peoples of the world, who cannot allow themselves ever to be sold like brute cattle. I appeal finally to the sword of all men of heart, who as soon as possible, will tear up this odious past." Another declared: "Cut off at this hour from the common family, your brethren of Alsace and of Lorraine

will preserve toward France, though she be absent from their hearths, the love of children until the day when she shall come again to take her place there." The story of that steady devotion is one of the most touching in history. Thousands of loyal French subjects stayed in the confiscated provinces with the sole object of keeping alive the national spirit and of preparing the people for the day when they should return to France. At first the Alsations simply stood by their Bordeaux protest, and for twenty years the Alsatian Deputies were returned to the German Parliament, without any canvas or electioneering campaign, on the strength of a simple declaration that they would protest against the arrangement of 1871. In spite of determined effort on the part of the German Government to get candidates who would support their measures, almost to a man the members opposed to the German schemes were returned. These actions were resented by the German Government and it sought to avenge itself by introducing a system of oppression and violence more tyrannical than before. Large numbers were prosecuted, and many Alsatian citizens were expelled from the country. When, however, the Alsations recognised that France had given up the idea of a war of revenge, they began to initiate other measures with the object of getting their release. The fight against German dictatorship was continued, but, as most of the offices of Government were held by Germans, a new watchword was launched: "Alsace-Lorraine for the Alsations." The leaders set themselves to obtain from the Imperial Government an autonomy equal to that enjoyed by the smaller German States. Though the object of their immediate struggle was changed there was never any doubt as to the affection of the Alsations for France. A recent writer said: "The people of Alsace-Lorraine have never shown the slightest wish to be separated from France. Their spirit has not been changed. Among the natives of the country, the Germans would not find 300 favourable to

them; the rest would demand the return to the France Motherland. That is why Germany has never dared to appeal to the will of the annexed inhabitants. . . . Alsace is united to France with whom she has always had moral, intellectual, and artistic affinity, by the historical development of many centuries. At the end of the Middle Ages the Alsatians sought the protection of a State that could assure to them order at home, and safety against enemies from outside. France undertook this work, and respected the customs, the traditions, and the language of the province. Thus union with France took place with full popular consent."

Germany, on the other hand, after 1871 has made repeated attempts to make them forget their Motherland, and the glories of past French history. They have introduced German and abolished the French language, and they have instituted severe fines against those who support the Motherland. Her administration has developed the country, but it is generally acknowledged she has utterly failed in her attempt to undermine their loyalty. Her failure is made sufficiently clear by her actions toward the people of these provinces at the outbreak of the war. On the eve of the mobilisation the authorities arrested thousands of Alsatians, the leading personages in the country, and interned them in Germany for months, yea, years. The Germans forbade the use of writing papers with French headings; all manufactured articles had to bear German labels; French was forbidden in the streets. The prisons were overflowing, and Alsatians were given numbers entitling them to places in the prisons as soon as vacancies occurred. The troops sent to pass through Alsace-Lorraine were told that this was "enemy country" and that they were to be prepared at any moment to defend themselves. There is little here to give the impression that the people had become contented under German rule for 43 years. When war was declared over 30,000 Alsatians crossed

the frontier and joined the French Army. Over 5,000 made their way into Switzerland, Italy, and England. There is no sympathy between the two peoples. The two classes speak different languages, have different customs and manners, they have no social relations, and they mix very little with each other. "The Germans recognised that Alsatian families were refractory to all kinds of Germanisation, and that the children, upon whom they had counted, to recognise German rule, brought from their home-life anti-German ideas, so deeply rooted that neither the school nor the barracks could extirpate them. Germanisation then went bankrupt at the very point where it had placed its main investment." German attempts to introduce culture into Alsace-Lorraine may have met with one kind of success but they have utterly failed to attract the Alsatian, and to draw him away from his beloved France. No peace settlement can be of permanent value which does not completely right the wrong against France when the German army forcibly detached Alsace-Lorraine from her.

ON THE BAHISTUN ROCK OF DARIUS THE GREAT

BY

MANECK B. PITHAWALLA, B.A., B.Sc.

Nestled 'midst tropic trees in burning plains
Of Ind, how oft my weary soul has run
On Northern hills, or snowy Persian chains
Harbouring the titan heights of Bahistun
Where Dara's record-rock, a towering church,
Still lifts its hoary head o'er darvish towns!
How like one summer bird I've longed to perch
Upon its cloud-clad crags and crystal crowns!
Proud of his triumphs o'er the apostate,
Darius stands erect in bas-relief.
Prone at whose feet Gaumata lies prostrate!
So time on time, and age on age, the cliff
Of old has cast but two Zoroastrian rays:
Full faith in God, and love for truthful ways.

WESTERN LAW IS BAD ECONOMICS

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A.

THE idea that the plot of land held by each household was his own to do what he pleased with was utterly foreign to our village communities prior to the British administration. Sales of land were unknown; and when an owner became, from failing appliances, unable to cultivate as much as formerly, the community arranged, if possible, for the cultivation of the abandoned fields, while he remained responsible for the revenue of only so much land as he actually held. Perhaps the most distinctive evidence of the communal notions of property is the survival of the village common land. Whatever may be the type of the village there are reserved within its territorial limits some portions of the uncultivated waste for common grazing, for assemblies of the people, and for subsequent appropriation and cultivation. Lands so reserved are jealously guarded as the common property of the original body of settlers who founded the village, or of their descendants, and occasionally also those who assisted the settlers in clearing the waste and bringing it under cultivation are recognised as having a share in these reserved plots. Even in villages which have adopted separate ownership as to the cultivated areas, some such plots are usually reserved as the village common, and in *pattidari* villages, it is not unusual to find certain portions of the waste reserved for the common use of the proprietors of each *patti* and other portions for common village purposes.

Indeed, absolute rights of property in land are absolutely foreign to Indian ideas. Thus there was great confusion when such ideas were applied by the British settlement officers to the determination of land-rights. When the British first made records of right in land, their primary object was to obtain a record of liability for revenue which depended wholly upon cultivating possession.

But the British went further than this. They, of course, preserved as a rule, though not always with entire satisfaction, the distinction between owner and tenant. In many cases the distinction was most arbitrary. The settlement officials have been hampered by ideas about property in land drawn from other states of society and have assumed that the absolute right to each plot of land must vest in some individual or body of individuals, subject possibly to subordinate rights of other persons which they considered as limiting the absolute rights of the proprietors of the land. In the *pattidari* villages which were managed on

the rent system there was little hardship. The headmen according to the custom of the villages shared all the profits and bore all the losses of the village as a whole, realising fixed rents from the cultivators; in such villages these headmen, in whose names the previous leases had been made out, were declared to have the proprietary right in all the land of the township and the other cultivators were declared to hold under them as tenants. But in villages managed on the *bhaiachara* system all the cultivators shared the proprietary right in the township on an equal footing and they all laid claim to the proprietary right on the ground that they had broken up the prairie without asking any one's leave and that they had all paid on their cultivation at equal rates. Their claims, however, were sometimes rejected and only those headmen whose names had been mentioned in previous grants or the descendants of such men, were declared to be the proprietors of the whole village. This was an obvious injustice based on an error, and the tenants recall with some bitterness how little those persons who now lord it over them differed originally among themselves. An interesting record of the popular voice in this matter, expressed in term of verse has been preserved by Mr. J. Wilson in his report of Settlement of the Sirsa District.

All the brothers came together,
They settled the desert prairie
And put the turban on one man's head.
He became headman.
The Ruler issued orders to him only—
The headman lost his good faith
And gave nothing even to his brother
Born of his father and mother,
No love or affection remained.

or again,
All together peopled the village,
Brothers, cousins and uncles.
They had one man's name recorded.

When he got hold of the law he turned them all out. And made his own orders to be obeyed; thought nothing of anybody else, (saying) "I will take you off to police station."

Ralka ae sabbhe bhai
Suni unhan bar basai
Ikde sir le pag banai
Oh bangaya lambardar
Hakim usknu hukum sunaya
Lambardar iman kharaya
Sukka us da ma pyo jaya

Usdabhi kuchh nahin bapaya
 Koi na rahagaya het pyar
 Rakhe subnan pind vasaya
 Bhira bhai te chacha taya
 Ikda unhan nam likhaya
 Jadden kanun ju usnu hatth aya
 Sabnan nun us kaddh vikhaya
 Usne ap da hukm chalaya
 Horkisi nun kuch nagane
 Le chals an lainnu thana

These verses run parallel to John Ball's couplet :

"When Adam dived and Eve span

Who was then the gentleman?"

and furnish the best evidence how the co-proprietors who had evidently equal status considered themselves oppressed by the headman who after the settlement occupied a clearly superior position and misused the authority he was unwarrantably given.

The importation of foreign ideas as regards proprietary rights on the land thus led to serious confusion.

Instead of recording each constituent household of the proprietary body as entitled to a fractional share in the village, and as holding in *cultivating possession* the land occupied by its members or by tenants whom they had settled, the British recorded and treated it as absolute owner of this and other land occupied by tenants which they had settled and entered as common property of the village only such land as was held by tenants who had been settled by the village in general, or by one of its sub-divisions.

The proprietary rights so recorded are now, of course, indefeasible. But there is every reason to believe such property in severalty, based solely upon actual possession, to have entirely a creation of the British; that before their times the breaking up of land gave the cultivator a right to hold that land undisturbed so long as he paid the revenue on it, but gave him no further rights; and that it gave him this much whether he was an owner or not.

In old days members of the proprietary body returning to the village after an absence of even half a century or more were admitted to their rights without question; and there is still a strong feeling against rights being extinguished by absence from the village. In families owning land jointly, the property on it is strictly regulated by shares; though as of old, the land is often divided for cultivation between the various members according to the extent of the appliances at the disposal of each without regard to those shares, each man paying revenue on the land he

actually cultivates and taking the whole of its produce. But this division does not confer any proprietary right in the land so held. Theoretically, each household in a village is entitled to break up the common land in proportion to its proprietary interest in it. But as a fact, the area so broken up depends entirely upon the ability to cultivate, and the man who breaks it up has a right to hold the land so long as no complete proprietary division is made, though he acquires no individual property in it. And the general voice of the people who have now accepted the new order of things affirms this view of the case.

In short, wherever the English have not interfered by a record to confuse cultivating possession and absolute ownership, the people carefully distinguish the two tenures; and the distinction should be insisted upon because the courts of law often show a tendency to assume that cultivating possession is adverse, and can become proprietary right by lapse of time. This is not the case though, till a complete division of property is made, the possession cannot probably be disturbed. The erecting the cultivating sharers into separate owners probably worked but little injustice, but it was founded upon a serious error.

Another far-reaching effect of the confusion has been this. An agriculturist has a right to do what he chooses with movable property of all sorts but the limit to his power of disposal extends to all immovables. In truth the idea of acquiring landed property otherwise than by a grant of waste or by inheritance is entirely a growth of the British rule, really of the last 30 or 40 years. The acquisition of land by purchase is now not uncommon, amongst the Jats at all events, but they do not recognise any distinction between this and inherited property, and the rulers of succession, and restriction on alienation would apparently apply to both alike.

Again, every agriculturist who cultivates the land and has to pay the share of the revenue undertakes a liability. If he happens to be old and childless, he had to get some one to assist him in the cultivation or even to undertake the whole responsibility of proprietorship. His agnates had perhaps as much land as they could manage, and would decline to add more to it. Under these circumstances the proprietor naturally turned to his wife's relations, or to the family into which his sister or daughter had married; and brought in with the tacit consent of the agnates, some one who would take the place of a son. The condition of things is now completely changed. The scarcity of land is, with the increase of population

making itself felt more and more, while property in land has acquired a clearly recognised and marketable value which was quite unknown 50 years ago. The tribal feeling now is that a co-sharer in a village has but a life-interest in his share of the land that he inherits, and that he should not be permitted to do anything by way of transfer that will injure the rights of the reversioners. The courts have in recent times adopted a middle course. They generally limit the right of contest in succession to agnates of the fifth and in some cases of the seventh degree.

The tribal feeling is strongly opposed to female succession, for the reason that in an exogamous society the female relations generally belong to a different village and their succession is regarded as the succession of outsiders and strangers, which endangers the solidarity of the village community. Their want of thought or skill might augment the burden of the other members of the coparcenary community.

If the agricultural population had their own way in the matter, they would undoubtedly establish something resembling a general law of entail. Here is an instance of the divergence between tribal feeling as to what a custom should be and the view that is easily taken by the Civil Courts. The Courts following ideas derived at first or second hand from English Law ignore or rather strangle the law-creating faculty of the people, which is their only means of adaptation to few economic conditions and forces.

Another confusion has often arisen with regard to wills and legacies. The Courts would sometimes lay down that the distinction between alienation by will and by a disposition *intervivos* would not be appreciated by an agriculturist. The right of a proprietor in inherited land is considered as to a considerable extent limited; and any attempt to interfere with the reversionary rights of the natural heirs is regarded with the greatest jealousy. A gift of land to take effect during the life-time of the donor would be as a rule at once contested; and the presumption against a disposition by way of will or legacy that came to light after the death of the proprietor, would be ten times stronger. It is scarcely necessary, however, to discuss the matter further for, while the disposition of property by gift or by adoption is recognised and admitted with limitations by land-owning tribes, wills are entirely unknown; and, to create a rule recognising them is entirely opposed to the spirit of tribal custom and would undermine the constitution of indigenous society. The distinction that an agriculturist draws between a gift and a legacy

is that in the case of the former the action of the donor is liable to be questioned at the time, and the dispute would be within the family, and not between heirs and strangers. The modern tendency of the courts is to uphold alienations by will *i.e.*, a person can alienate by will what he can alienate *intervivos*.

In instances like the present the Courts substitute rather than modify, being dominated by ideas and ideals utterly foreign to the tribal organisation to agriculture. By destroying the communal ideas of property and artificially creating or helping to create the conditions that hinder the progress of the great mass of agricultural population, they divert family and social endeavour from the beneficial channels of economic activity. Judged by the standard which satisfies the conditions of progress of society in the West they may be said to create good laws but this historico-comparative study has, we believe, indicated that they represent tendencies which contradict the fundamental laws of progress of our own society. Western passion for absolute liberty of action, Western ideas of absolute rights of individual are incompatible with an all round development of social life and well-being.

Thus little by little the unexpected action of the administration and English Law have insensibly influenced the village community: the former close association which existed between the members of the village community has been undermined. The peasant belongs to a joint village. He was one of a group of co-partners and could not alienate without the consent of his partners. But the English courts decided otherwise. For them the joint village was a novel, and little understood institution. Since each co-proprietor cultivated his own piece of land, was he not the full proprietor thereof? It is true that they were collectively responsible for the land revenue, but this responsibility was in practice allowed to lapse. The British Revenue officers, finding it troublesome and unfair to good cultivators had, while maintaining the village community in name, advanced towards individual assessments. The co-proprietors were thus treated in practice as individual proprietors, with full rights including that of alienating their shares in the village lands. Amongst co-proprietors having much the same rights and the same burdens not only the distinction between cultivators and non-cultivators was emphasised, but the peasantry was divided into tenancy-at-will, occupancy tenants and proprietors with very different rights and holding very different positions. The head man who had much the same status with the rest of

the proprietors was given an undue authority which was too often misused. (J. Chailley, 'Administrative Problems of British India.') And this method of treatment was not only confirmed but strengthened by the Courts.

The Government, however, have recently made great effort to maintain or reconstruct the village community. Notably, it passed some important legislative measures. The Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900 and the Pre-emption Act of 1905 and 1913 are measures calculated to preserve the integrity of the village community by preventing any interference with customary rules. A law of 1850 long forbade the sale of land to persons outside the village. Such sales even now required as a rule, a decree of the Court of Justice, and occasionally the approval of the executive authority. But the Bill of 1900 substituted a general and a drastic solution of the question. It forbade non-agriculturists, save with the special approval of the Deputy Commissioner to acquire land from agriculturists and lists of agricultural tribes and castes were drawn up. Under the present law of pre-emption the custom of pre-emption is finally codified and given statutory sanction, but it is not a drastic measure. Under the old law pre-emption could be shown by custom to exist with reference to all kinds of transfers, whether voluntary or compulsory, sales, mortgages, gifts, exchanges, leases or what not. Under the present law it is strictly limited to voluntary sales in the form of sales of agricultural land, and sales and fore-closures of mortgages of village and urban property.

The Government and the courts after creating rights in individual property, against all local precedent, is now limiting them. But once undermined the compactness of the co-parcenary community is difficult to protect. Once the pivot has been loosened, the whole chain has begun to unwind itself. It is difficult to arrest the unfastening of the bonds of the village community suddenly and unexpectedly let loose. The courts recently have begun to show a general feeling that they have given up the earlier individualistic notions and are favouring ideas of jointness and common holdings—the systematic study of customary law had no small influence in this change of attitude. The fetish of individualism is now an out-worn creed but if the Courts in India have now come to a partial recognition of it as such though it is belated recognition, it is not yet too late to mend, or repair the mischief due to the infusion of individualistic ideas to a system whose life and progress depend upon communal notions and ideals.

There is practically no medium between the village community and the Ryotwari village of the provinces of Madras and Bombay. Once the village community is undermined and the Government has to deal not with villages but with individuals, collect a separate demand from a serveral thousand cultivators and let loose a swarm of revenue subordinates on each district. Once allow free transfer of land, and, in spite of the brilliant ideas of an influx of capital and enterprise on land, farm tenancy will be gone for ever, and capitalistic estates will take the place of village communities. It will be a step backward, not forward in the condition of agriculture. The principle of joint responsibility, entail and pre-emption naturally go together contributing to the safeguard of government revenue and the prosperity of agriculture. In the co-parcenary communities when the land is divided, each shareholder is supplied with a portion of every kind of soil, a slice of the infield, and a large block of the outfield, a portion of well or alluvial land, a portion of the dry land: thus the village is made up of a network of fields or properties. To such a state of things the principle of joint responsibility applies, but only in theory: the instances in which it is practically enforced are few. The people have the advantage of mutual protection, good fellowship, and the strength that arises from union of economic interests. This union induces the law of pre-emption,* which excludes the stranger, and by means of which the cautious man is able gradually to absorb the estates of the uncautious: the property is valuable, and the assessment not heavy; the good men keep the bad men up to the mark, or are ready to get rid of them by the process of absorption; the risk is very small compared with the advantage of being member of a brotherhood. If a balance occurs, it cannot be for more than one-fifth of the whole demand, if timely action be taken and that demand does not exceed one half of the net produce of the estate: the transfer of the land accompanies the payment of the debt by an individual shareholder; or if the balance be paid rateably by the

* Pre-emption is recognised in the Arthashastra and the Smritis, and there is a continuity of tradition in this respect in Hindu Law, so far as village interests are concerned. There is a community of structure in the organism of Hindu society in its different phases, administrative, economic as well social proper. The problem for the legislator is fundamentally one in these different fields, and a continued development of tradition suited to the Indian genius can alone furnish the key to the solution of the many difficulties and complexities that confront him.

whole community, the share is placed in the common land.*

Under no circumstances can there be a loss, and the chances are that the property is greatly sought for.

• But it may be urged, of what use is this maintenance of an antique system, this offensive exclusion of strangers, the unnatural prevention of the influx of capital and ability on land kept, so to speak, under lock and key and the apparent counteraction of economic laws?

The reply is simple. Economic laws are to fit themselves to facts, not facts to fit themselves to theories. We can no more alter economic institutions of a country than language and thoughts. But what are the facts of agricultural life in other country? Private voluntary sale and mortgage of land wherever unrestricted has always led to the completed divorce between owner and cultivator. This is inevitably followed by agricultural decline and political and social disturbances. Throughout Europe there is steady movement towards favouring the position of the peasant-proprietor or independent farmer at the expense of the land-owner. In Ireland, the movement is quite recent and has been much facilitated by the series of laws which begun in the seventies and culminated in the Land Purchase Act of 1903. In the United States, which was (except in the south) almost from the beginning the home of independent proprietors, there has been during the past few decades an increase in the proportion of farm-tenants to farm-owners.

On much the greater portion of India practically all cultivation is carried on by tenants and not by landholders. The cultivating tenant of Bengal, the United Provinces, Bihar and the Central Provinces does not ordinarily possess the power of mortgage or a free transfer of the land. In Egypt the Fide-feddan Law has also restricted the power of the cultivator to mortgage.

A consideration of these and similar tenancy measures, a study of the tendency of modern tenancy legislation and an examination of the socialistic code of property that is now being developed in the West with its restriction of individual rights of property and emphasis of social interests will inevitably lead to the conclusion that there is after all something very vital

• The voluntary redistribution of land by the tribe from time to time was supplemented by state action, in freeing the holdings of tenants from accumulated burdens and liabilities by a compulsory settlement of claims. This remedial measure by administrative agency was calculated to prevent the abuses that naturally tended to grow up in spite of pre-emption, and co-proprietorship amongst the peasantry.

in the antique fabric of the village community and its laws of property will not be retrograde measures.

The village communities have been disorganised by the application of Western notions of property, but their reconstruction is not an improbability.

Throughout India there are numerous instances where imprudent laws based on individualistic ideas of property have injured the condition and interest of the peoples. But they are followed by efforts towards reparation and reconstruction. The most common illustration is the following. The compulsory sale of ancestral lands for debt was no doubt not entirely forbidden by the old Indian law, but it was not seldom applied in practice. It was explicitly introduced, and generalised by the English Law, under the belief that it would enable land-owners and cultivators to borrow on better terms. But the result has often been that both landlords and tenants were dispossessed by classes of money-lenders, traders and lawyers—new classes whose importance is due to economic and legal transformations during the last fifty years. Where this has been a source of economic and social danger, the Government has enacted special measures. These have thus been summarised by M. Chailley:

(1) The special "succession" laws—those passed, for instance, in the United Provinces and Madras for the purpose of rendering large estates impartible, i.e., withdrawing them from the divisions to which they would be liable under the ordinary Hindu Law of succession, and which bring about impoverishment and gradual disappearance of a landed aristocracy.

(2) Laws passed, for the benefit of the landed aristocracy and gentry in order to procure a better administration of estates. Thus every large province, except Burma, has its Court of Wards Act, which provides for the administration by Government agency of estates the possessor of which is disqualified by age, sex or personal capacity. The result of such administration is usually to clear off debts which have accrued, and to restore the estate to its owner on a sound, financial basis. These arrangements have been buttressed by Special Encumbered Estates Acts, such as those of Sind and Bundelkhand, which enable special measures to be taken for the relief of estates burdened with debt.

(3) Such laws as the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act of 1879, passed for the benefit of encumbered peasant proprietors, with the object of providing special tribunals for the settlement of claims against them, and of dealing in an equitable manner with usurious accounts.

(4) The Tenancy Acts which have for their main

object the granting of occupancy right to tenants of long standing and the restriction of undue enhancement of rents.

(5) Finally, the Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, which restricts the sale of land by agriculturists to non-agriculturists, and (with some local enactments that it has inspired) marks the last stage hitherto reached in the process of evolution.

Piecemeal reparative measures like the Land Alienation and the Pre-emption Acts in the Punjab will only retard but not prevent the series of economic revolutions caused by the breaches created in the coparcenary community system by Western notions of property. English engineering has secured its highest triumphs in the irrigation works of Northern India. It is now for English statesmanship to regulate economic and social revolutions in Northern India as engineering has dammed the rivers. The rivers, dammed and regulated, have become fructifying channels of irrigation and converted arid wastes into fertile plains in the Punjab. If the economic revolution that is fast becoming an element of danger and destruction, be properly guided, what is now a desert of idleness, indebtedness, and irritation will be converted into a valley of wealth, welfare and social peace. Legal enactments and court decisions which will have this end will be good laws though they may be in apparent contradiction of the so-called "great laws of political economy." But how few will realise what was good economics two or three decades ago is now bad economics? Not to speak of the other proposition less acceptable, what is good economics for the West may be bad economics for India!

What is wanted may be supplied by a series of measures for the protection of the integrity of the agricultural communities. But by far the best plan would be to allow the village communities to determine what is good economics for them and to empower them to determine for themselves what their laws and customs shall be from time to time. That will ensure progress more than chief court rulings or customs in the form of law imposed from above and that will be going along the ancient ways of these petty republics by furthering the cause of liberty and self-government. The best atmosphere for the development of custom is the tribal court. As Sir Michael O'Dwyer observed in his address to the Punjab Codification of Customary Law Conference, "Custom in the Punjab is beyond doubt a living organism, and we should see that it has freedom to develop on healthy lines. It has grown out of communal and economic conditions and is still in

the main suited to these conditions as we know them, but the atmosphere natural to custom is the atmosphere of the tribal court or council of elders, Panchayat, or Jirgah, which administers it without regard to formal rules of procedure, and which gives effect to modifications and advances as soon as they are sanctioned by local opinion. When custom is removed into the atmosphere of the regular courts it suffers from the change of air." And this may be illustrated by the lessons of experience of the Russian officials who have based the administration of civil justice in their Asiatic Dominions on customs and the tribal system with the help of the mufti and the qazi. The judicial methods of handling customs are probably in no small measure responsible for the fact that the Punjab is the most litigious province in India and that a frequent reproach against the present system of civil justice is that it is expensive, slow and uncertain. The judges or townsmen, sons of traders or officials who are obsessed with Western ideas and are entirely out of sympathy with tribal feeling. Indeed the present system is the opposite of what is conducive to the natural development of tribal organisation. At present the preparation of the Riway-i-am affords the only existing opportunity other than in the Courts of ascertaining the desires of the people on the subject of their customs, but inasmuch as the instructions for the preparation of that document reflect the view of the Courts that custom must be established by precedents, popular sentiment being postponed to instances, the process is not vivifying. If the village communities are allowed to develop their own customs,* the Western notions of property will no longer work havoc on them and they will develop naturally according to modern needs at the same time protecting themselves against the influences of disintegration which are too often forced from above; while the state should reserve to itself the general power of supervision for the purpose of avoiding conflicts of principle and any other discordant and separatist tendencies.

* In Behar and Bengal, from the earliest days of Mahomedan administration, there has been a superimposition by the state of individualistic and capitalistic ideas of property. There has been a remarkable parallel development of economic and juristic institutions. While on the one hand capitalistic farming and landlordism, superimposed by the state, have over-ridden the communal interests of the village system; on the other hand, Jimutbahān and other developed individualistic concepts of property which dealt a serious blow on the communal notions in the joint family and the co-parcenary village community.

TROTZKY AND LENIN

RUSSIA is paying the penalty of her own folly. It is pitiful to see the desperate condition of a country which is now a regular pandemonium of contending factions, torn by internal dissensions as well as by the menace of German aggression. And yet all the chaos and confusion are of her own making, and Russia is reaping the whirlwind. The treachery and inhumanity of old Russia are recoiling on her head.

Deliberate murder has been the weapon used by the Bolsheviks to make their brand of "democracy" safe; and, fearing lest the troops should be led by their officers to effect a patriotic resistance to the Germans and to establish some less "radical" form of Government, Lenin and Trotsky have found an easy way to obviate this menace. Leaderless troops are helpless, so the Bolsheviks have proceeded to the massacre of every officer in sight. The entire officer personnel of the great fortress of Viborg were killed off—none too gently—and scores of officers in Helsingfors, Abo, and Dvinsk, and hundreds of naval officers at Cronstadt and the Black Sea ports were massacred in cold blood.

It is desperately painful to give up the beautiful legend of the 'bloodlessness' of the Russian revolution. There must exist some dark forces whose purpose it is to drive away from the revolution in disgust and scorn all those who have loved it and fought for it. Russia never ceased to love the revolution which opened our bastilles and abolished capital punishment. But that revolution is gradually becoming a memory. The present is an orgy of murder, a bloody mass of terrorism. The present reality, the slaughtering of our officers, means dire peril to our land.

This orgy of murder and terrorism was part and no inconsiderable part of the regimes of Trotsky and Lenin. The fierce Trotsky was Russia's foreign minister under whose "gentle" regime so many army officers have been massacred.

It was only natural, writes a Russian author in *Asia*, that this intellectual Jew, with a strong avidity for theoretical thought, should have exchanged twenty years ago the sombre class rooms of the university for the fresh breezes of revolutionary activity. In 1901 we find him already in solitary confinement in the prison of Odessa, the city of his birth, devouring book after book to satisfy his mental hunger. No true revolutionist was ever made downhearted by prison, least of all Trotsky, who knew it was only a brief interval of enforced idleness between one period of activity and others. After a year or so of prison "vacation" (as the confinement was called in revolutionary vocabulary) Trotsky was

exiled to Eastern Siberia, to Ust-Kut, on the Lena River, where he arrived early in 1902, only to seize the first opportunity to escape.

Again he resumed his work, dividing his time between the revolutionary committees in Russia and the revolutionary Russian colonies abroad. 1902 and 1903 were the years of growth of the labor movement and of Social-Democratic influence over the working masses.

It was in connection with this work that Trotsky's first pamphlet was published and widely read. It was entitled: *The Second Convention of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party* (Geneva, 1903), and dealt with the controversies between the two factions of Russian Social-Democracy which later became known as the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks. Trotsky's contribution was an attempt at reconciliation between the two warring camps which professed the same Marxian theory and pursued the same revolutionary aim. The attempt failed, as did many others, yet Trotsky never gave up hope of uniting the alienated brothers.

Trotsky's own political line was the Revolution—a violent uprising of the masses, headed by organized labour, forcibly to overthrow bureaucracy and establish democratic freedom. With what an outburst of blazing joy he greeted the upheaval of January 9, 1905—the first great mass-movement in Russia with clear political aims! "The Revolution has come!" he shouted in an ecstatic essay completed on January 20.

The revolution has come, and one move of her magnificent body has lifted us over many scores of steps which in peaceful times we would have had to climb with difficulty and fatigue. The Revolution has come, and has completely destroyed the many schemes of cunning politicians who dared to make their calculations without the real 'boss,' the revolutionary people. The Revolution has come, and scores of prejudices have been broken down, and, strong and convincing, stands out the only real programme,—that which builds on the logic of a revolutionary development among the masses. . . . The Revolution has come, and the period of our political infancy has gone for ever.

The Revolution, continues the Russian writer, filled the entire year of 1905 with the battle cry of ever-increasing revolutionary masses. The political strike became a powerful weapon. The village revolts spread like wild fire. The Government became frightened. It was under the sign of this great conflagration that Trotsky framed his *theory of immediate transition from absolutism to a Socialist order*.

In the fall of 1905 it looked as if Trotsky's

hope was near its realization. The October strike brought autocracy to its knees. A Constitution was promised. A Soviet (Council of Workmen's Delegates) was formed in Petersburg to conduct the Revolution. Trotzky became one of the strongest leaders of the Council. It was in those months that Russia became fully aware of two qualities of Trotzky's, which help him to master men: his power as a speaker, and his ability to write short, stirring articles comprehensible to the masses.

But in power over men Trotzky was only second to Lenin—the man of mystery in the romance of Russian politics. Vladimir Ulianoff Lenin, the man from nowhere, as it is said, has as many biographies as he has names. He has been plain Ulianoff, Zederbaum, Rudovitch, Gratschky. His homes have been all over the continent of Europe. Nevertheless, says the organ of Italian Socialism, Lenin—his rightful name, the Ulianoff hyphenated with Lenin in some signatures being a tribute to his mother—is a true Russian, the son of a man banished in his time for his political opinions. Lenin's brother was executed for treason in the old Romanoff days.

Lenin himself, in the character sketches published abroad, appears to have been born in or near Moscow forty-five years ago, being a trifle older than Trotzky. Lenin, like Trotzky, got part of his education at the university of Odessa. Trotzky and Lenin—says an authoritative account—are as the poles apart in aspect. Lenin on the maternal side inherits the melancholy and reserve of the "Great Russian" stock from which his mother sprang. Lenin's capacity to influence young men and throw the spell of magnetism on ardent souls is proverbial in Russia. This is partly due to his gipsy life and the strangeness and mystery attending his movements.

He has a genius for disappearance, says an American writer, turning up in out of the way places in Galicia, in Switzerland, in San Remo, in Portugal. He lives under an assumed name upon a revenue said by his foes to come from the Germans; but his friends point to the fortune left him by a wealthy lady not many years ago.

He would wander from one seat of learning to another and organize the student rebellions which several years ago were such a feature of Russian intellectual life. Some of his followers at this period of Lenin's career included the sons of men in the diplomatic service as well as descendants of the most ancient national herbes.

In a study of Lenin's character and personality a writer in the *Current Opinion* points out that Lenin has very little use for the Anglo-Saxon race because, as he contends, it set the example of commercialism, which Germany followed in the last century. He is obsessed with the belief that the only remedy economically is Marxian. In the political sphere there must be direct law-making by the people and direct elections even of the highest army officers. In impressing these views upon an audience, Lenin, we read, begins in an unexpectedly pleasing voice, loud and clear as a bell, earnest in tone. "He uses very simple words always. He saws the air with a forefinger at first; but as he proceeds he suggests the leader of a French orchestra, so numerous are his gestures, so easy his bendings from the waist. In the excitement of the peroration he runs his hands over his big head and chin. He promises land in the name of the revolution, bread in the name of the revolution, boots and shoes in the name of the revolution. His best oratorical effect results from a sardonic laugh at the expense of capitalistic government." Surely, even the way to revolutions and anarchy is passed, sometimes as in the case of Russia with good intentions.

For one thing, the first British idea of Lenin and the men about him as irresponsible and ignorant blatherskites used by Germany as paid instruments has had to be abandoned even by the *Tory London Post*. "We must not," says the *London Mail*, "think of men like Lenin, Trotzky, Chicherin and Litvinoff as men of no account, mob leaders or hooligans. Lenin is a student, thinker, writer. He is well known by reputation to the people of northern Russia. They look up to him as the man who made the revolution. They venerate him." Lenin has actually been helped at home, we read further, by denunciation of him in Anglo-Saxon dailies as a hired tool of the Germans. This is too notoriously preposterous to be denied, says the *London Mail*, and of Trotzky it says not only that he is "probably honest" but knows a great deal more of foreign countries and of foreign affairs generally than Mr. Balfour does.

But not all honesty or knowledge has availed to lead Russia safe through the years of travail. In times like these neither the one nor the other, even if it could be proved to have been present in Russia, would be enough. What is wanted is unity of purpose and firm resolve which would have saved the country from the paroxysm of a useless revolution.

(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE)

THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A.

CHAPTER VI

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY LITERATURE

THE PRE-VICTORIAN AGE

PROSE literature between 1800 and 1840 was very meagre. All that was done was due to the sacrificing spirits of the celebrated Christian missionaries of Srirampur. Cary, Marshman and Ward, and their fraternity published books in Bengali prose for preaching the Gospel among the people. Bengali books were printed for the first time at Srirampur. The Christian missionaries wrote Bengali with a view to popularise the Bible, and Biblical episodes and stories from the life of Christian martyrs were rendered into Bengali and were presented before the people in a language at once clear and simple. Preachers as they were, their aim was to convince the common run of men of the truths of their own religion. They transmitted and interpreted European ideas. They were really efficient intermediary between the minds of England and Bengal. It is for this fact as for their intrinsic merit that they are the best introduction to the literature of the Victorian era. They succeeded in establishing an intellectual intercourse between England and Bengal. The nature of the new power which they imparted to the literature of this country is clearly marked now. The spiritual nature of these benevolent missionaries overcame all fanaticism which is a dominant feature of those zealous clergymen who preach their own religion to proselytise men of other faiths. Their style was indeed an invention. It bore an unmistakable kinship to the vigorous, racy, native eloquence of their own language. Lighted by the rays of their genius, it drove home into those who heard them, their moral earnestness and religious belief. It was not saddled with the cumbrous panoply of thunderous denunciation. But still with all its redeeming features, the language was outlandish. It was more often mere Bengali rendering of the thought in English. It possessed the incontestable proofs of a bastard child. When reading it we sadly miss that naturalness of tone which is invariably expected and found in a native penman.

In 1802 and 1804 were published two books "Lipimala" and "Rajabali" by Ram Rasu. The

specimens of language show a little improvement on that of the missionaries. About this time the Batrish Sinhasan of Mritunjay Tarkalankar was written. The attention of the writer is fixed on the purity of the language so much so that it is very difficult to distinguish Bengali from Sanskrit. His scholarly taste has been driven to the farthest limit of pedantry. This dry as dust language is neither Sanskrit, nor Bengali. It is a curious combination of the two. In 1808 Rajiblochan Mukherjee published the life of Raja Krishna Chunder Ray and it is the first biography in Bengali. Its composition is a little higher and its language is a little simpler.

Thus we see between the years 1800 and 1840 A. D. two schools of literary men arrayed against each other, each with its ideal of literary excellence. One school, headed by the missionaries, wrote a simpler language of foreign parentage; and the other, headed by the Pandits who were carried away by their too high an ideal of refined taste, wrote a language weighed down by the heavy armour and cumbrous weapons from the rich store of classical Sanskrit. Of course we cannot deny the superiority of Bengali poetry over Bengali prose at that time. Bengali prose had to wait for some time more before it could claim some attention as a language of practical importance. The state of the prose literature of a country is the measure of the practical aptitude of the nation. We do not speak in verse in our daily life. Accuracy of thought is better expressed in prose than in poetry. A nation has to develop its material condition and commercial and practical greatness before it can hope to develop a good prose literature. History bears witness to this. Before the age of Dryden we do not find good English prose. It was he who gave a shape to the yet undeveloped English prose. The need was felt. What he found iron was made gold. Bengali language also could not present good prose owing to this defect in the national character. Before the English came, the Bengalees were confined to the four corners of Bengal for good many years. They lost all idea of a wider world beyond the gate of their surroundings. The English came and widened their vision. Their eyes were opened. They learnt to be useful and practical. Thoroughness, precision, accuracy, detail and minuteness are

the characteristics of prose. No wonder, therefore, that the Bengalees had practically no prose before the 19th century. It remained a heavy task of later Bengalee literary men to be achieved.

The first fruit of the unique combination of the East with the West is Raja Rammohun Ray, the founder of the Brahma Samaj and the accredited head of that religion. Rammohun was born at Radhanagar in Hugly in 1774 A.D. His father Ramkanto Ray was an orthodox Hindu. Rammohun served as a clerk in the Collectorate at Rungpore and was installed as the Dewan at that place. His post was very lucrative. He was rich, influential and educated. He was not happy in domestic life. At first he was a staunch supporter of the religion he afterwards stood against. But soon he advocated the idea of one God and one only. To reform the corrupted society after the model of the West and to serve the country became the mission of his life. With the assistance of Prasanno Kumar Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore and others, he established the Brahma religion in 1828. He obtained the title of Rajah from the Emperor of Delhi with whose help he went to England. From England he went to France and then again came back to England where he preached his own religion. Even the great men of England at that time were startled to see his learning, intelligence and power of arguing. He died in England in 1833 and was buried at Bristol. Rammohun was sincere and true to his ideal. Never false to himself, he was not false to others.

Rammohun's influence is the most potent upon the literature of the Victorian period. He was philosopher—a systematic thinker. The surest and easiest way to penetrate into the thought of the age in question is to see what Rammohun did, as the ideas that were in the air are definitely expressed and are certainly more clear in the actions of this great man. His activities were indeed manifold. His influence upon society, literature and religion was enormous. He was gifted with many-sided genius, indefatigable energy and tenacity of purpose for doing what he strove after. The priceless truths uttered on the banks of the Ganges one thousand years before the birth of Christ lost their integrity. Irrational imitation engrafted upon the Hindu society a most burdensome ritualism. The sedulous care of the sacerdotal orders to hold their own had eaten into the vitals of the Hindu Society, and mortification of the body was exalted into the divine essence.

The Brahmanical caste became tyrannical and oppressive. The sacredness of the Brahman's person, the wearisome and minute ceremonies of worship, the expiatory offerings and sacrifices became intolerable to a certain section of the people. The ideas of human brotherhood, the aspirations after a higher life were really suppressed under the grinding wheel of sacerdotal monitions. The children of men who explored the world of metaphysical speculation, in whose writings we find "materialism, anatomism, pantheism, Pyrrhonism, idealism," who "could boast of their spinozas and their Humes long before Alexander dreamed of crossing the Indus, from whom the Pythagorians borrowed a great part of their mystical philosophy, of their doctrine of transmigration of souls and the unlawfulness of eating animal food" and from whom "Aristotle learned the syllogism became encumbered by rites, sacrifices and ceremonies" and devoted all their attention merely to propitiatory rites to appease divine anger or gain divine favour. It was the mission of Rammohun to raise his countrymen from the degrading abyss of sacerdotalism and to hold before them a higher spiritual ideal in its pristine glory. Brahmoism arose as a protest against Brahmanism. It was an ethical rather than a religious movement. Rammohun's ideal was the elevation of ordinary life by a reform of morals. To rise to a knowledge of God as the supremest wisdom and the grandest achievement of the mortal man by meditation and prayer is the sum and substance of his teaching.

However, we need not be detained by his religion in our review of the work of Rammohun in the field of literature. He translated into Bengali some of the systems of Hindu philosophy to lay bare the great truths of Hinduism, to show that in philosophy and scriptures there was nothing of those orthodox and idolatrous modes of worship which engrossed the attention of all his countrymen. To popularise his religion Rammohun wrote several books in Bengali. To make people understand that what he did was not exotic or an innovation merely to bring about an unnecessary revolution in the ethical world, he translated many philosophical works of the early Hindus—works on which he based the whole system of his ethical teaching. Like Luther he tried and became successful in his attempts. Rammohun took the pen in hand in defence of the faith he propounded and advocated. As a result of it Bengali literature was amply benefited. When

he was dissecting and anatomising the Hindu gods and goddesses, and when he was explaining away and criticising the orthodox opinions in their favour, he roused the dormant feelings of the Hindus, which found suitable expressions in various writings of many learned men of the time. This religious controversy penetrated even the substrata of Hindu society. Bengali prose was wielded by both the parties and it was fed and refined by the scholarly disquisitions of good many men of vast erudition and culture. Bengali was not only becoming a language of power, but it also became flexible to some extent. Rammohun also composed songs in praise of the Almighty—songs which will last as long as the Bengali literature endures. These songs or devotional hymns were sung to music by the supporters of the new faith. They are the best, and the most tangible contributions of Rammohun to the literature of his country. Indifference to the world and worldly things, complete self-abnegation, resignation to the divine will, pure deistic teachings impregnate his devotional lyrics. His songs will ever be dear to the pious and the thoughtful.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to enter into the details of his eventful life. We have touched only what Rammohun did indirectly to improve Bengali literature.

Next we come to speak of another man who, by his learning and extraordinary genius, won a world-wide fame for his ethnological research in the yet unexplored region of Indian history and art. Rajendralal was born about 1822 A. D. and died about 1891. He was a scholar of exquisite taste. He wrote in Bengali, English and Sanskrit. His fertile brain produced 128 works. He was a great linguist. Besides Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Urdu and English, he was thoroughly acquainted with Greek, Latin, French and German literatures. In 1851 Dr. Rajendralal started the "*Bibidharsa Sangraha*," a monthly magazine devoted to art and literature. The criticisms and articles in it are well-worthy of attention.

Madan Mohun Tarkalankar, a contemporary of Rajendralal, was born in 1815 A. D. in Nudia. He was educated at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and afterwards became a professor of his *alma mater*. But he accepted the post of a law officer in the judge's court for interpreting Hindu Law to the European judges. Then he was promoted to the post of the Deputy Magistrate.

As long as Madan Mohun was an educationist,

he served his native tongue, but with the acceptance of the post of the Deputy Magistrate, he kicked it out from him. He was indeed a man of extraordinary genius. He was a poet and good prose writer. His power of writing prose and poetry was wonderful. He was a staunch supporter of female education and when the Bethune College was established, he was the first man to send his two daughters to be educated there. Madan Mohun died in 1857. His books, *Rastarangini*, *Basabdutta* and *Sishupath* live in Bengali to this day. Had he not been called away by the prospect of more income and emolument of service, he might have left priceless things behind him to influence and form his native literature. He started a monthly magazine in which he wrote articles which extorted the admiration of his contemporaries by his eloquence, power, and force of language. Here was a man of wonderful talents, endowed with a fine scholarly acumen and intelligence—a man who might have shared the laurels of Vidyasagar as the father and regenerator of Bengali literature, had he possessed sufficient self-control in resisting temptation of a rich and gorgeous life and approbation of the Government. Madan Mohun was a friend to Vidyasagar. In learning and intelligence both of them were almost equal, but in the possession of a pure and stainless character, in native intrepidity, in integrity, consistency and tenacity, and, above all, in philanthropy, he was far inferior to Vidyasagar. Thus nothing helps a man as character. "Nothing can keep you—neither fate, nor health, nor admirable intellect; none can keep you, but rectitude only, rectitude for ever and ever," so says Emerson. Madan Mohun's immolation of genius at the shrine of lucre has deprived Bengali literature of one of her useful servants. The style of Madan Mohun is marked with individuality. It was grandiose. Sometimes his composition was weighed down with Sanskrit words of great length and sound. Sometimes it was marked by simplicity and purity. He could handle the language as he liked. He was undoubtedly a man of versatile genius.

Three minor poets flourished during the first and second decades of the 19th century. Though the vogue of poetry had passed, an immense amount of poetical work was executed during the period mentioned. These poets were Raghunandan, Krishna Kamal and Radha Mohun. They had often poetical thoughts but they were neither high, nor extraordinary.

"We are all subjects of king Shakespeare" says Carlyle, speaking of English literature. English literature is not a republic but a monarchy of letters. There Shakespeare's rule is supreme. But in Bengalee literature there is none whom we can safely install to that high position. It is strictly a republic where now one holds the supreme command and then another comes in. Iswar Gupta's influence was powerful in the pre-Victorian age. Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar and Bankim Chunder were respectively lords of the early and middle Victorian prose. Madhusudan was on the throne of the Mid-Victorian age. Rabindranath is at the head of the later and post-Victorian age both in the domains of prose and poetry.

ISWAR CHUNDER GUPTA

Though the ideal and the beautiful is the poet's property, the province of his art, it is no reason why he should not paint also the actual, the real. Though he gives to "airy nothing a local habitation and a name," yet he is quite at liberty to add a touch of interest to the phases of actual life. Iswar Gupta was not a recluse pursuing art for art's sake, indifferent to the world outside. He was a man keenly alive to every human interest. The society of his age has been faithfully mirrored in his poems. He had an acute ear and listened to the men around him and observed their manners and character with a penetrating eye. He had a tenacious memory which received the slightest impression on it and preserved it with a wonderful effect. This more than compensated the inferior quality of his education. The wider concerns of human society received his attention as much as the more limited. He was among the most patriotic of poets. With a temperament which was out and out Rabilian was joined an exquisite sense of scholarly appreciation of what is best in the writings of poets and writers who preceded him. His labours in the field of biography were most astonishing. For ten years he travelled from place to place to collect any information regarding the life and work of poets one after another, and published them in his renowned weekly the "Provakar." His quips and pranks, his witty remarks on the manners and customs of the society, everything of him may die, but his reputation as a biographer of ancient poets will ever endure. He was a ready penman and handled various subjects. Politics, sociology, religion, literature, character-painting nothing escaped his attention and he wrote voluminously on these. But they are thrown into the background before the mighty Herculean labour he

underwent, and the success he achieved and the ability he had shown in compiling the life and works of ancient poets of Bengal, whose names would have been by this time thrown into the darkness of oblivion but for his sympathetic and timely attention to recover those minds of old. This proved his love for the literature of his own country and the labour to which he exposed himself was a labour of love.

Iswar Gupta was born in 1811 A.D. in a Baidya family of Kancharapara. His father's name was Harinarain Gupta. At the age of ten Iswar Chunder lost his mother and lived more frequently with his maternal uncle at Jarasanko in Calcutta. He was naughty and inattentive in his boyhood. He had no knowledge of English and had a mere smattering of Bengali. He "had begun to write verse before he well knew what metre was." In his earliest childhood he lisped like Pope, in verse. He was a born poet. Even at the age of twelve, he composed songs for the Kaviwallas. About 1830 he started his well-known "Sambad Provakar" with the help of Jogendra Mohun Tagore. His versatile genius shone bright and glorious in that paper. He wrote on religion, society and various other subjects, but his special gift was in satire, in sarcastic remarks on the manners and customs of the society in Rabilian fashion. He was the first to introduce a new element into poetry—laughter, the best of all tonics for the system. After a short existence for only two years, the "Provakar" died and was again revived after four years and was published thrice in the week. In 1839 it was turned into a daily but from 1852 it became a monthly. All men of culture and learning of the time subscribed the "Provakar." In 1846 and 1847 Iswar Gupta started the "Pashandu Pyan" and the "Sadhu Rajan" respectively. Besides many essays and poems, he wrote several books and collected the lives and lost works of ancient poets.

Iswar Gupta was a man of pleasant words. He was sociable and all sought his company. His "hospitable door" was always open and he did "the honours of all Bengal" to his guests. He was friendly and amicable. He was sympathetic and kindly. He felt deeply and thought deeply. He laughed and excited laughter. He was not coarse or obscene. He was not boisterous nor blustering. He was good and kind and gentle. He could not bear tyranny, or extravagance of social custom or innovation of outlandish manners. He took the cudgel in hand and chastised his countrymen. He was a power-

ful wit and his weapon was most effective. He was a social reformer and performed his task ably and creditably. In spite of scanty scholastic training, he made himself a man of wide culture and was far superior to his contemporaries. He studied the contemporary society and felt a deep intellectual pleasure in it. He drew freely on the stores of his memory. Humour, satire, fun, pathos, keen observation, in fact the gifts of a poet as well as those of a master of prose have combined in him. There is no exaggeration, no abnormality. There is no air of unreality. There is no sign of self-deception or hypocrisy. He was a delineator of manners, not a painter of men. On account of his intrinsic merits and realism, Iswar Gupta remains as yet the chronicler of the manners and customs of the then society. By exposing the eccentricities and extravagances of the people around with the saving grace of humour, he made their fruits palpable to their own eyes. By causing their laughter with the oddities then prevailing among them, he showed them in which direction their faults lay, and as he was sympathetic and felt for them we distinctly mark an under-current of sadness in his poems. His mirth and humour have a tinge of sadness. He is never repellent, nor sordid. His poems are the quintessence of wholesome fun, of acuteness mingled with simplicity.

Bengali prose of the period is represented by Tarasankar. The translations of Kadambari and Rasselas are his chief works. Kadambari was regarded as presenting a model of style by the old orthodox Sanskrit scholars. The best test of one's learning was a clear apprehension of the meaning of its sentences. The style wears a Sanskrit garb. It is heavy and sententious. The composition is wordy. It is not flexible. But it has a beauty of its own which has preserved it as one of the classics of our language. To read this book we have to strain our patience. A classical air pervades throughout. Sometimes the style is pleasing but it is never touching. In a word, it has no life. It is merely a vehicle of pompous expression. Sententiousness clings to all its periods. It is pedantic, heavy, and monotonous.

The Bengali prose style was not yet developed. It was no better than Sanskrit stripped off the inflexions. A purely classical style with its solemn rigidity and inflexibility is not required, for a heavy panoply is not well-suited for constant use. The texture should be fine to give one facility for the freedom of movements of limbs. So it was not yet fit for practical use. It was reserved for Iswar Chunder Vidyasagar and Akshay Kumar Dutt to make necessary improvement.

PROF. KARVE: A GREAT SOCIAL WORKER*

BY HON'BLE PROF. R. P. PARANJPYE

WIDOWS' HOME

ILL 1900 Mr. Karve remained Secretary of the Widow Marriage Association and then his place was taken by Prof. Bhate. He had already begun to work seriously in another direction. He had already found that the great difficulty in the advancement of widow marriage was how to persuade people to take the step. It is education alone that can occasionally give one the strength to oppose the tyranny of custom and the supposed binding of religion. Mr. Karve saw from his experience that there is not much likelihood of

the cause of widow remarriage progressing by itself; but he also saw that while there was considerable reluctance in many quarters to take a step against what was considered to be a fundamental principle of religion, there was all the same a considerable amount of sympathy with the lot of widows and that earnest efforts in this direction are likely to prove immediately successful. Of course the obvious means for bettering their lot was education. It was easy to persuade people to allow their widowed daughters or sisters to be educated and thus bring some ray of light into their hapless existence. Intellectual sympathy with widow marriage is likely to result in action only rarely, but sympathy with the cause of their education may be immediately reduced to action without rendering one liable to suffer great personal difficulties. Again a promising effort in the cause of the education of widows was frustrated in the case of Pandita

* By the courtesy of Prof. Paranjpye we are able to give a succinct account of Prof. Karve's work in connection with the two institutions with which his name is intimately associated: the Widows' Home and the Women's University. For a detailed account of his life and life-work the reader is referred to the sketch recently published in the "Biographies of Eminent Indians." [Ed. J.R.]

Ramabai's Sharada Sadan: At the height of the agitation against the Sadan in 1893, many talked of starting an indigenous institution of a similar kind; but the talk came to nothing as Mr. Karve was not then ready for the work.

Mr. Karve in 1895 thought of starting a Widows' Home under the auspices of the Widow Marriage Association but he soon felt that the home would start with an initial prejudice if begun in this manner and hence he determined to start it independently. Nevertheless he realised that his having married a widow is sure to create some prejudice against it and he determined to live it down. The widow marriage association appreciated his point of view and the little sum collected at first for a new home was handed over to him for the use of his independent effort. Feeling however that before he appealed for public assistance he must prove his own zeal in the cause, he gave his own savings of Rs. 1,000 to the cause in the beginning and with the assistance given by a friend he started with two widows. A separate institution was out of question at the time, so he put them in the Female High School Boarding House and paid their expenses out of these amounts. He published a letter about it in the *Sudharak* and on the 18th June 1896 the Widows' Home Association was started with Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar as President and Mr. Karve as Secretary. The report presented to members on 24th January 1897 contains the following: "Mr. D. K. Karve toured for about two months and visited Thana, Bombay, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Akola and Amraoti to secure support for the institution. Besides he also attempted to secure help in Poona itself. There are at present seven pupils who are learning under its auspices. The balance to the credit of the association is Rs. 3,220-14-11."

Such were the humble beginnings of the institution. Next year he thought of having a home—however humble—for the institution. But he determined not to touch the balance in hand but to secure fresh funds for it. If he could not get enough money—about Rs. 5,000 was all he wanted—he resolved to pledge his own life insurance policy for it. After a short time he changed his plan slightly and hired a house in Poona for it but he carried out the idea of handing over his insurance policy of Rs. 5,000 to the institution and this has been appearing till now anonymously in the reports of the institution.

Mr. Karve realised from the first that an institution like the Widows' Home ought not to remain permanently under the superintendence of a mere man and he was always trying to interest some ladies in the management and if possible, to get them to volunteer for the work. After two or three years his attempts began to succeed. The first lady to join him was Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale, a younger sister of his second wife. He put her in the Poona Female Training College, and when she qualified as a teacher in 1902 he made her the superintendent. Mrs. Parvatibai is an energetic lady of great determination. She soon got full control of the internal management and used also to do a good deal of the teaching work. A year afterwards he enlisted Mrs. Venubai Namjoshi and Mrs. Kashibai Devadhar, of whom the former—a cousin of the late Principal Agarkar—was a Bombay Matriculate and the latter an F.A. of the Madras University. These were thus better qualified for teaching and one of them was made the superintendent of the school. Mrs. Athavale and Mrs. Namjoshi are still active members of the Home and its sister institution; Mrs. Devadhar resigned in 1912 from some difference of opinion. In 1917 Miss Krishnabai Thakur, M.A., (Mrs. Thakur) also joined the institution and was headmistress of its school but resigned after her marriage.

The Home has had very gratifying support from all classes. Many have been giving liberal annual donations and several have given large contributions. But beyond all this it has educated the public to their responsibility towards widows. The home is now a regular sight which every visitor to Poona must go to see and the little known village of Hingne Budruk is more famous than many towns of much larger size.

The home stands for an idea. It does not aim at denationalising Indian women. The girls are required to do a part of the domestic duties in their colony. They are not taught to look upon domestic work like cooking, washing and grinding as beneath an educated woman. Every day they are collected together in their Gita Hall—presented by the late Mr. G. B. Deyal—and go through some sacred texts. The usual religious observances like fasts, etc., are not forbidden. Even as regards the tonsure of widows, those who prefer it are allowed to continue their usual custom though in this matter public opinion in towns is changing rapidly. Needlework is taught, but hand-loom weaving which was introduced as an experiment

for a few years has been given up, since it is not economically paying and the girls do not come from classes that take kindly to the work. The course of studies was till recently the usual course for primary and high schools and is now that laid down by the Indian Women's University.

From the very commencement the work of Mr. Karve was very delicate; similar work by some other leaders has been the occasion of libel suits. But hardly a breath of scandal has blown over Mr. Karve's work. The great confidence that the public have in him is shown by nothing so much as by this negative fact.

To quote Mr. Karve, "the greatest benefit that has come from the home is the germ of hope that has been created in the hearts of widows themselves. The object of the home is to infuse confidence into widows from those Hindu castes that do not usually allow remarriage and to show them that education puts into the hands of young widows a means of improving their minds, making them self-dependent and enabling them to make good use of their lives by working for a public cause; and these objects are being fairly well realised."

THE MAHILA-VIDYALAYA

Almost from the beginning of the Widows' Home, Mr. Karve used to get occasional applications, from the guardians of unmarried girls for admissions to it and some such girls were, and are still being, admitted. Many guardians of young girls felt that it would be very good for their girls to receive cheap education in a Hindu atmosphere and in Hindu middle class surroundings. Mr. Karve, therefore, began to think of starting an institution for unmarried and married girls only. As in the case of the Widows' Home he started with small beginnings. First of all he opened a small hostel for them in the city and sent those girls to learn either in the Female High School or the New English School—the latter being a school for boys. After some time some classes were opened in connection with the hostel, that was started and only the girls in the higher classes were sent to other schools.

In 1914 there were about 90 girls in this school called the *Mahila-Vidyalaya* and the number was continually increasing. In the meanwhile Mr. Karve had formed another plan about the organisation of the school which had taken shape. From the very beginning his idea was to train ladies to take up this work of the uplifting of women and he had secured three or four ladies for the Widows' Home. But they

were not joining in as great numbers as he desired. In our country real sacrifice is appreciated by everybody and Mr. Karve desired to give this instinct for sacrifice a new form. The Servants of India Society started by Mr. Gokhale, the members of which sacrifice their lives for the country's good and are prepared for any public work that has to be done, gave him hints about the details of the organisation. This organisation he called the *Aishkama-Karma Math* "the hermitage for selfless work." The members were to sacrifice their whole lives to it and to do any work that may be given to them. All members old and young, men and women were of equal weight. To learn humility they were required to beg from house to house in the beginning and in this manner to provide funds for their work.

On the 4th November 1908 Mr. Karve and two others took the following vows: "In the name of the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe, I hereby dedicate myself to the Indian Ladies' Mission that is to be started to conduct institutions like the Widows' Home, the *Mahila-Vidyalaya* and other similar ones. Henceforward I have no claim over my own existence. The association may make any use it likes of me. I agree to any arrangement that may be made for my own and my family's maintenance." Two other gentlemen with their wives soon joined this *math*. Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale and her son who was a student in the Fergusson College also agreed to join it, the latter to actually begin to work in it after he completed his education. Some other young girls—pupils of the home—also agreed to come in after the completion of their education. In this way the *math* consisted of about a dozen persons. Almost in the very beginning they prepared to take the bold step of building a home for the *Vidyalaya* which was the first institution to be managed by it.

They had no funds to start with. But they made plans for a building of about forty-thousand and immediately commenced the building operations borrowing money on their own personal security. Luckily the trustees of the late N. M. Wadia came to their help and contributed a goodly portion of the expense. Some money was raised by public subscriptions, but till recently, there was a debt of a few thousand rupees still left outstanding. The building was built in close proximity to the Widows' Home on a piece of land bought for the purpose, the members of the *math* expecting to be asked to take over the management of the Home some time or other and Mr. Karve

being of course the common originator of both. The building can now accommodate about a hundred pupils.

The close proximity of the Widows' Home and the *Mahila-Vidyalyaya* and the two associations which managed them with some common members and some devoted to only one of the two objects soon led to difficulties. For reasons which it is unnecessary to detail here the three institutions—the Widows' Home, the *Mahila-Vidyalyaya* and the *Math*—were amalgamated into a single institution called Mahilashrama.

THE INDIAN WOMEN'S UNIVERSITY

Mr. Karve's work has not stopped with the secure establishment of the joint school just mentioned. For many years the vision of an Indian Women's University as the final form of his effects at Hingne was before his eyes. Three or four years ago he came across an account of the foundation of the University for Women in Japan and he determined to follow the example. He made his ideas public in his presidential address at the National Social Conference in Bombay in 1915. He immediately set to work to enlist public support. Many ridiculed the idea as he had no money with him. But Mr. Karve had faith. He toured round the country explaining his idea and secured a considerable amount of support. Finally the Senate of the University was formed in April 1916 and the University was launched into existence.


Some think that the name of a University is too grandiloquent for the small beginning that has been made. But many other institutions with the same name have started with similar humble dimensions. There is no doubt that the need for such a university is patent. The university is independent of Government aid or recognition and it can afford to do so as the *alumni* do not as a rule expect to go in for Government service or enter the recognised professions. But the need of well educated women in all walks of life is so great that they will be welcome everywhere whatever the actual stamp they bear. This independence of Government control has enabled this University to make a very important educational experiment. One of its fundamental principles is that all its education is to be imparted through the vernaculars, though English rightly is given an important place as a second language. At present only the Marathi branch is existing but the framework of the University is capable of bearing branches teaching through any other Indian

language. Again the courses of studies are so adjusted as to fit the special needs of women. Thus in all examinations domestic science is a compulsory subject with the courses properly graduated. History is compulsory, the courses culminating in the study of sociology. English and the Vernaculars are given the greatest prominence. The graduates' course extends over three years after the entrance examination so that clever girls can expect to pass through the whole course by the time they are eighteen, though it is fully expected that their intellectual attainments will not be less than that of an ordinary graduate of the universities. The University has also just begun a regular Training College branch, as they have the great advantage of learning every thing through their vernacular.

The constitution and organisation of the University is quite distinct from the other institutions at Hingne. The Hindu Widows' Home Association has started a college called the *mahilapathashala* which teaches for the University examinations. The idea is to leave open the possibility of affiliating similar institutions in other parts of India. The funds of the 'two' are altogether separate though the senate votes grants to the *Pathashala*, as need arises, to enable it to make provision for the higher teaching. The senate of the University consists of sixty fellows who are elected by six different constituencies. A number (15) is elected by the associations whose colleges are affiliated, twenty five are elected in certain proportions by the patrons who have paid Rs. 1,000 and by the electorate of graduates who have contributed Rs. 300 in one sum or pay an annual subscription of Rs. 10, fifteen are elected by other sympathisers and by the electorate of women and five are co-opted by the senate itself. The fellows are to hold office for five years and then retire, though remaining eligible for re-election. The Chancellor and other officers are elected by the senate at its annual meeting in June. The present Chancellor is Dr. Sit Ramakrishna Bhandarkar and the Vice-Chancellor the Hon. Principal R. P. Paranjpye. Mr. Karve is the organiser of the University and does everything to make the scheme popular. The funds of the University amount at present to about seventy-five thousand. This year (1918) eight girls passed the entrance examination, six the first year examination and three the second year examination. The University is a unique organisation and the whole of India will be benefited by the success of the experiment.

DEFECTS IN OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI*

 I have considered the question of the media of instruction, of the national language, and thereabout of the place that English should occupy. We have now to consider whether there are any defects in the scheme of education imparted in our schools and colleges.

There is no difference of opinion in this matter. The Government and the public opinion alike have condemned the present system. But there are wide differences as to what should be omitted and what should be adopted. I am not equipped for an examination of these differences but I shall have the temerity to submit to this Conference my thoughts on the modern system of education.

Education cannot be said to fall within my province. I have, therefore, some hesitation in dwelling upon it. I am myself ever prepared to put down and be impatient of those men and women who travelling outside their provinces discourse upon those for which they are not fitted. It is but meet that a lawyer should resent the attempt of a physician to discourse upon law. Nor has a man who has no experience of educational matters any right to offer criticism thereon. It is, therefore, necessary for me to briefly mention my qualifications.

I began to think about the modern system of education 25 years ago. The training of my children and those of my brothers and sisters came into my hands. Realising the defects of the system obtaining in our schools, I began experiments on my own children. I even moved them from place to place. I tried to educate them myself. My discontent remained the same even when I went to South Africa. Circumstances compelled me to think still more deeply. For a long time I had the management of the Indian Educational Association of Natal in my hands. My boys have not received a public school training. My eldest son witnessed the vicissitudes that I have passed through. Having despaired of me, he joined educational institutions in Ahmedabad. It has not appeared to me that he has gained much thereby. It is my belief that those whom I have kept away from public schools have lost nothing, but have received good training. I have noticed defects in that training. They were inevitable. The boys began to be

brought up in the initial stages of my experiments, and whilst the different links belong to the same chain that was hammered into shape from time to time, the boys had to pass through these different stages. At the time of the Passive Resistance struggle, over fifty boys were being educated under me. The constitution of the school was largely shaped by me. It was unconnected with any other institution or with the Government standard. I am conducting a similar experiment here. A national institution has been in existence for the last five months and has received the blessings of Prof. Dhruva and other learned men of Gujarat. The ex-Professor Shah of the Gujarat College is its Principal. He has been trained under Prof. Gajjar. He has as his co-workers other lovers of Gujarati. I am chiefly responsible for the scheme of this institution. But all the teachers connected with it have approved of it and they have dedicated their lives to the work, receiving only maintenance money. Owing to circumstances beyond my control, I am unable personally to take part in the tuition, but my heart is ever in it. My experiment, therefore, though it is all that of an amateur, is not devoid of thought and I ask you to bear it in mind while you consider my criticism of modern education.

I have always felt that the scheme of education in India has taken no account of the family system. It was perhaps natural that in framing it, our wants were not thought of. Macaulay treated our literature with contempt, and considered us a superstitious people. The framers of the educational policy were mostly ignorant of our religion, some even deemed it to be irreligion. The scriptures were believed to be a bundle of superstitions, our civilisation was considered to be full of defects. We being a fallen nation, it was assumed that our organisation must be peculiarly defective and so notwithstanding pure intentions a faulty structure was raised. For building a new scheme the framers naturally took count of the nearest conditions. The Governors would want the help of the lawyers, physicians, clerks. We would want the new knowledge. These ideas controlled the scheme. Text-books were, therefore, prepared in utter disregard of our social system, and according to an English proverb, the cart was put before the horse. Malabari has stated that if we want to teach our

* Concluding portion of the address to the Guzerat Educational Conference.

children History and Geography we must first give them a knowledge of the Geography of the home. I remember that it was my lot to have to memorise the English counties. And a subject which is deeply interesting was rendered dry as dust for me. In history there was nothing to enthrall my attention. It ought to be a means to fire the patriotic spirit of young lads. I found no cause for patriotism in learning history in our schools. I had to imbibe it from other books.

In the teaching of Arithmetic and kindred subjects, indigenous methods have received little or no attention. They have been almost abandoned and we have lost the cunning of our forefathers which they possessed in mental arithmetic.

The teaching of science is dry. Pupils can make no practical use of it. Astronomy which can be taught by observing the sky is given to the pupils from text-books. I have not known a scholar being able to analyse a drop of water, after leaving school.

It is no exaggeration to say that the teaching of Hygiene is a farce. We do not know at the end of 60 years' training how to save ourselves from plague and such other diseases. It is in our opinion the greatest reflection upon our educational system that our doctors have not been able to rid the country of these diseases. I have visited hundreds of homes but have hardly seen a house in which rules of hygiene were observed. I doubt very much if our graduates know how to treat snakebites, etc. Had our doctors been able to receive their training in medicine in their childhood they would not occupy the pitiable position that they do. This is a terrible result of our educational system. All the other parts of the world have been able to banish plague from their midst. Here it has found a home and thousands die before their time, and if it be pleaded that poverty is the cause, the Department of Education has to answer why there should be any poverty after 60 years of education.

We might now consider the subjects which are altogether neglected. Character should be the chief aim of education. It passes my comprehension how it can be built without religion. We shall soon find out that we are neither here nor there. It is not possible for me to dilate on this delicate subject. I have met hundreds of teachers. They have related their experiences with a sigh. This Conference has to give deep thought to it. If the scholars lost their characters they would have lost everything.

In this country 85 to 90 per cent. of the population is engaged in agricultural pursuits. We can, therefore, never know too much of agriculture. But there is no place for agricultural training even in our High Schools. A catastrophe like this is possible only in India. The art of handweaving is fast dying. It was the agriculturist's occupation during his leisure. There is no provision for the teaching of that art in our syllabus. Our education simply produces a political class, and even a goldsmith, blacksmith or a shoemaker who is entrapped in our schools is turned out a political. We should surely desire that all should receive what is good education. But if all at the end of their education in our schools and colleges, become politicals?—

There is no provision for military training. It is no matter of great grief to me. I have considered it a boon received by chance, but the nation wants to know the use of arms. And those who want to, should have the opportunity. The matter, however, seems to have been clean forgotten.

Music has found no place. We have lost all notion of what a tremendous effect it has on men. Had we known it, we would have strained every nerve to make our children learn the art. The Vedic chant seems to recognise its effect. Sweet music calms the fever of the soul. Often we notice disturbances in largely attended meetings. The sound of some national rhyme rising in tune from a thousand breasts can easily still such disturbances. It is no insignificant matter to have our children singing with one voice soul-stirring, vitalising national songs. That sailors and other labouring classes go through their heavy task to the tune of some rhythmic expression is an instance of the power of music. I have known English friends forgetting their cold by rolling out some of their favourite tunes. The singing of dramatic songs, anyhow, without reference to timeliness and thumping on harmoniums and concertinas harm our children. If they were to receive methodical musical training, they would not waste their time singing so called songs out of tune. Boys will abhor questionable songs even as a good musician will never sing out of tune and out of season. Music is a factor in national awakening, and it should be provided for. The opinion of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami on this subject is worthy of study.

Gymnastics and body-training in general have had no serious attention given to them. Tennis, cricket and football have replaced national games.

The former, it may be admitted, are games full of interest, but if everything western had not captivated us, we should not have abandoned equally interesting but inexpensive national games, such as *Gedihudo*, *Moi dandig*, *Khokho*, *Magmalli*, *Nadtutu*, *Kharopat*, *Narnagil*, *Sat tali* and so on. Our gymnastics which exercise every limb of the body and our *Kusti* grounds have almost disappeared. If anything western is worthy of being copied it is certainly the western drill. An English friend rightly remarked that we did not know how to walk. We have no notion of marching in step in large bodies. We are not trained to march noiselessly, in an orderly manner in step, in twos or fours, in directions varying from time to time. Nor need it be supposed that drilling is useful for military purposes only. It is required for many acts of benevolence, e.g., there is a fire drill, there is a drill for helping the drowned to come to life, and there is a stretcher drill. Thus it is necessary to introduce in our schools national games, national gymnastics and the western drill.

Female education fares no better than male education. In framing the scheme of female education, no thought has been given to the Indian conception of relationship between husband and wife, and the place an Indian woman occupies in society.

Much of the primary education may be common to both the sexes. But beyond that there is little that is common. Nature has made the two different, and a distinction is necessary in framing a scheme of education for the two sexes. Both are equal, but the sphere of work is defined for each. Woman has the right to the queenship of the home. Man is the controller of outside management. He is the bread-winner, woman husbands the resources of the family and distributes them. Woman is her infants' nurse, she is its maker, on her depends the child's character, she is the child's first teacher, thus she is the mother of the nation. Man is not its father. After a time the father's influence over his son begins to wane. The mother never allows it to slip away from herself. Even when we reach manhood we play like children with our mothers. We are unable to retain that relationship with our fathers. If then the vocation of the two are naturally and properly distinct, there is no occasion to arrange for an independent earning of livelihood by women in general. Where women are obliged to be telegraphists, typists and compositors, there is a break in well-ordered society. A nation that has adopted such a

scheme has, in my opinion, come to the end of its resources, and has begun to live on its capital.

Thus it is wrong on the one hand to keep our women in a state of ignorance and degradation. It is a sign of weakness and it is tyrannical to impose men's work on her. After co-education for some years, a different scheme for girls is necessary. They ought to have a knowledge of the management of the home, of regulating the life during the child-bearing period and the upbringing of children, etc. To formulate such a scheme is a difficult task. This is a new subject in the department of education. In order to explore the unbeaten track, women of character and learning and men of experience should be entrusted with the task of devising a scheme of female education. Such a committee will try to devise means for the education of our girls. But we have numerous girls who are married during girlhood. The number is increasing. These girls disappear from the education stage after marriage. I venture to copy below the views I have expressed on this phase of female education in my preface to the first number of the *Bhaginee Samaj* series :

"The provision of education for unmarried girls does not solve the problem of female education. Thousands of girls at the age of 12 become victims of child-marriage and disappear from view. They become mothers ! So long as we have not got rid of this cruel wrong, husbands will have to become their wives' teachers. In the fitness of husbands for this task lies high hope for the nation. All endeavour for the national uplift is vain so long as instead of becoming our companions, our better halves and partners in our joys and sorrows, our wives remain our cooks and objects of our lust. Some treat their wives as if they were beasts. Some Sanskrit texts and a celebrated verse of Tulsidas are responsible for this deplorable state of things. Tulsidas has said that beasts, fools, shoodras and women, are fit to receive bodily punishment. I am a devotee of Tulsidas. But my worship is not blind. Either the couplet is apocryphal, or Tulsidas following the popular current has thoughtlessly written it off. With reference to Sanskrit expressions, we are haunted by the superstitious belief that everything Sanskrit is scriptural ! It is our duty to purge ourselves of the superstition and uproot the habit of considering women as our inferiors. There is another body of men who in pursuit of their passions decorate their wives from period to

period during twenty-four hours even as we decorate our idols. We must shake ourselves free of this idolatry. Then at last they will be what Uma was to Shankara, Sita to Rama, Damayanti to Nala, they will be our companions, they will discourse with us on equal terms, they will appreciate our sentiments, they will nurse them, they would by their marvellous intuitive powers understand our business worries as by magic, share them with us and give us the soothing peace of the home. Then but not till then is our regeneration possible. To attain to that lofty status through girl-schools is highly improbable for a long time. So long as we are destined to groan under the shackles of child-marriages, so long will husbands have to become teachers of their child-wives. It is not tuition in the alphabet only that is here contemplated. Step by step they have to be initiated in political and social subjects and literary training is not indispensable for imparting such knowledge to them. Husbands who aspire after the position of teachers will have to alter their conduct towards their wives. If husbands were to observe Brahmacharya so long as their wives have not reached maturity and are receiving their education under them had we not been paralysed by inertia, we would never impose the burden of motherhood upon a girl of 12 or 15. We would shudder even to think of any such possibility.

"It is well that classes are opened for married women and that lectures are given for them. Those who are engaged in this kind of activities are entitled to credit. But it appears that until husbands discharge the duty incumbent on them, we are not likely to obtain great results. Upon reflection this would appear to be a self-evident truth."

Wherever we look, we observe imposing structures upon weak foundation. Those who are selected as teachers for primary schools may, for the sake of courtesy, be so called. In reality, however, it is an abuse of terms to call such men teachers. A scholar's childhood is the most important period of life. Knowledge received during that period is never forgotten. And it is during this period that they are helped the least, and they are shoved into any so-called school.

In my opinion if in this country instead of devoting our pecuniary resources to ornamenting our schools and colleges beyond the capacity of this poor country, we were to devote them to imparting primary education under teachers who are well trained, upright and sobered by age, in

hygienic conditions, we should in a short time have tangible results. Even if the salaries of the teachers in primary schools were doubled, we could not obtain the desired results. Paltry changes are not enough to secure important results. It is necessary to alter the framework of primary education. I know that this is a difficult subject. There are many pitfalls ahead, but its solution ought not to be beyond the power of the Gujarat Education League. It ought, perhaps, to be stated that there is no intention here of finding fault with primary school teachers individually. That they are able beyond their capacity to show us results, is a proof of the stability of our grand civilisation. If the same teachers were properly fitted and encouraged, they could show us undreamt of results.

It is, perhaps, improper for me to say anything about the question of compulsory education. My experience is limited. I find it hard to reconcile myself to any compulsion being imposed on the nation. The thought, therefore, of putting an additional burden in the shape of compulsory education worries me. It appears to be more in keeping with the times to experiment in free and voluntary education. Until we have come out of the compulsion stage as the rule of life, to make education compulsory seems to me to be fraught with many dangers. The experience gained by the Baroda Government may help us in considering this subject. The results of my examination of the Baroda system have been so far unfavourable. But no weight can be attached to them as my examination was wholly superficial. I take it for granted that the delegates assembled here will be able to throw helpful light on the subject.

It is certain that the golden way to remove the defects enumerated by me is not through petitioning. Great changes are not suddenly made by Governments. Such enterprises are possible only by the initiative of the leaders of a nation. Under the British Constitution voluntary national effort has a recognised place. Ages will pass away before we achieve our aims, if we depended solely upon Government initiative. As in England so in India, we have to lead the way for the Government by making experiments ourselves. Those who detect shortcomings in our educational system can make the Government remove them by themselves making experiments and showing the way. Numerous private institutions should be established in order to bring about such a consummation. There is one big obstacle in our path. We are enamoured of

'degrees.' The very life seems to hang upon passing an examination and obtaining a degree. It sucks the nation's life-blood. We forget that 'degrees' are required only by candidates for Government service. But Government service is not a foundation for national life. We see, moreover, that wealth can be acquired without Government service. Educated men can, by their enterprise, acquire wealth even as illiterate men do by their cleverness. If the educated class became free from the paralysing fear of their unfitness for business, they should surely have as much capacity as the illiterate class. If, therefore, we become free from the bondage of 'degrees,' many private institutions could be carried on. No Government can possibly take charge of the whole of a nation's education. In America private enterprise is the predominant factor in education. In England numerous schools and colleges are conducted by private enterprise. They issue their own certificates. Herculean effort must be made in order to put national education on a firm foundation. Money, mind, body and soul must be dedicated to it. We have not much to learn from America. But there is certainly one thing which we can copy from that country. Great educational schemes are propounded and managed by gigantic trusts. Millionaires have given of their millions to them. They support many a private school. These trusts have not only untold wealth at their disposal, but command also the services of able-bodied, patriotic and learned men, who inspect and protect national institutions and give financial assistance, where necessary. Any institution conforming to the conditions of these trusts is entitled to financial help. Through these trusts even the elderly peasant of America has brought to his door the results of the latest experiments in agriculture. Gujarat is capable of supporting some such scheme. It has wealth, it has learning, and the religious instinct has not yet died out. Children are thirsting for education. If we can but initiate the desired reform, we could by our success command Government action. One act actually accomplished will be far more forcible than thousands of petitions.

The foregoing suggestions have involved an examination of the other two objects of the Gujarat Education League. The establishment of a trust such as I have described is a continuous agitation for the spread of education and a practical step towards it.

But to do that is like doing the only best. It could not, therefore, be easy. Both Gov-

ernment and millionaires can be wakened into life only by coaxing. *Tapasya* is the only means to do it. It is the first and the best step in religion. And I assume that the Gujarat Education League is an incarnation of *Tapasya*. Money will be showered upon the league when its secretaries and members are found to be embodiments of selflessness and learning. Wealth is always shy. There are reasons for such shyness. If, therefore, we want to coax wealthy men, we shall have to prove our fitness. But although we require money it is not necessary to attach undue importance to that need. He who wishes to impart national education can, if he is not equipped for it, do so by labouring and getting the necessary training and having thus qualified himself will, sitting under the shadow of a tree, distribute knowledge freely to those who want it. He is a Brahmin, indeed, and this dharma can be practised by every one who wishes it. Both wealth and power will bow to such an one. I hope and pray to God that the Gujarat Education League will have immoveable faith in itself.

The way to Swaraj lies through education. Political leaders may wait on Mr Montagu. The political field may not be open to this Conference. But all endeavour will be useless without true education. The field of education is a speciality of this Conference. And if we achieve success in that direction, it means success all over.

DEATH

BY

PROF. P. SESHADRI

If royal Death should move towards my door
 With stately stride, and gently beckon me
 To his domains beyond mortality,
 I should be loathe indeed to leave this shore
 And sail with him across the din and roar
 Tumultuous, of some vast, untrodden sea:
 My lips would meekly open and query
 The lord, to still some doubts of mine, before
 My feet could journey forth at his command—
 Be there the lisp of children in your isle,
 The voice of friendship and the organ's roll
 Of thrilling music? Duth your gloomy land
 Hold loving woman's sweet enrapturing smile
 And books of song to soothe the listless soul?

INDIA'S DUTY

BY

DR. N. SUBRAHMANYA AYYAR, M.A.

Senior Dewan Peishkar, Travancore.

FOOD is the basis of life, and labour or occupation is the key to food. In all schemes of nation-building or nation-repairing, labour therefore calls for the foremost attention. Now, what does labour itself depend on? Labour depends upon the demand for it. That is, if we buy of the producer be that produce the labour of industry, the labour of commerce, the labour of religion or any other, he (the producer) will go on producing. Not only so. His successors will do the same. In this way, uninterrupted demand creates and establishes occupational classes in a society with an unbroken cleavage of function. Occupational classes so established from generation to generation constitute so many standing organs of the national organism and ensure its continuance for all time. Thus, the society gets finally organised and made permanent. This permanency of life with established cleavage of function would mean, in course of time, more or less permanent cleavage in temperament, customs, manners, etc., all of which go to make up the form or structure of each section in society.

PRESENT STATE IN INDIA

In India, for instance, such a cleavage in function and structure once existed in full form. But when the people neglected their primary duty to buy of, and invest with, the labour of the various functional groups in their own organism, or castes as they are called, every caste became affected in life and vigour, with the result that the old cleavage of function is now mostly gone or is fast going. Cleavage in *structure*, such as distinctiveness in social life and intercourse alone remains, though of course not in unimpaired vitality; and the diverse defuncted castes are all struggling to live through one function, namely, dependent service in administrative, mercantile or ecclesiastical labour. In other words, all the old castes of India are tending to become one new caste, the caste of servers, under whatever euphemistic designation they may style themselves or be styled.* With such a tendency, separateness of

customs and manners, and mutual exclusiveness in the matter of social intercourse, though they once served as a bar against one caste encroaching on the function of another caste, have *now* lost all meaning. They merely serve at present to create a feeling of separateness as between caste and caste; and this is regarded, not only as a source of inconvenience, but as an obstacle to national unity and combined action. There has therefore come about the natural desire to break up this separateness, the idea being that when it is so broken up and when every Indian has become converted from his old caste heterogeneity into a new national homogeneity such as western countries seem to present, India can also become a great nation. In fact, it is believed that it is only then that she can be a nation at all.

INDIA COMPARED WITH THE WEST

The question is, in following this policy, is

labour and on whatever honor and reward that that labour gave him. But, with the general economic depression of the country, he found that his appointed labour was fast slipping from under his feet. In fact, as religious labour ministers only to an unseen and possibly hypothetical world, it would be the first item to be struck out in a nation's scheme of retrenchment; and he (the Brahman) formed in consequence the first detachment of the Indian unemployed. (The writer is personally aware of the case of a brother officer who, when he lost all his in Arbuthnot's and had to live on a salary of less than Rs. 100 worked out a family budget and came to the conclusion that the Acharya (family priest) could alone be sent out first.) At such a juncture, public service was ready to take recruits, and the Brahman naturally fell upon it. This probably accounts for the earlier entry and the larger proportion of the Brahmans in the official service. The division of labour which was the essence of the ancient Indian polity, it must be remembered, was based on mutual concession on the part of the castes themselves. And in this concessional division it was that the Brahman accepted the religious profession for which, as already stated, the demand is becoming almost *non-exist* and left all material resources to the Sudra and Vysia, and the power to rule and recover revenue through the employment of even armed force if necessary, to the Kshatriya to whom he (the Brahman) in common with all others looked for protection for himself and for his appointed labour. Now, almost every caste, not only the Brahman, is unemployed and depressed, and everyone is struggling to live by some means or other. In such a situation, to place restrictions on any caste in its efforts to live, except as part of a programme for protecting every caste in its own traditional labour, is obviously unfair.

* When almost every one in a nation aims at getting on through the same line of occupation, internal jealousies and strifes must be the result. This has now happened. Under the ancient Indian polity, the Brahman was content to live on religious and allied

India really imitating the Western nations? Or is she going along a reverse direction from theirs? To give a satisfactory answer, let us put a further question. Are the Western nations, like India, neglecting, either to buy of each other, or to invest their savings with their industrial and commercial classes, or again to export their manufactured goods to outside markets in proportion to what they import from abroad? Are they also destroying thereby their diverse labours which, together with land, make up their respective national organisms? Are they destroying their economic heterogeneity and constituting themselves into a single caste of servers in dependent labour? Or, are they on the other hand preserving and strengthening their various labours which constitute so many organs of their national organism, creating new labours and acquiring new fields of work and demand for their increasing population, and developing, on the whole, a healthy heterogeneity? It is clear that they are doing only the latter, and *not* the former. And in place of the distinctive customs and manners which, among Indian castes, served to prevent mutual encroachment of function, we now find in the West artificial substitutes such as patents, monopolies, tariff laws, etc.

HER DUTY NOW

When that is the case, what is the duty of India, both to herself and to the Empire? Is it to repair and reconstruct her dying labours, to create and develop new ones and thus give back to the now meaningless customs and manners their old purpose and meaning, so that, even without the artificial substitutes above referred to, she can be happy herself and keep other nations happy too? Or is it to efface her heterogeneity and forfeit all its possible benefit, at least at a future time? Her duty is emphatically the former. And as long as the mind of the average Indian is intent on preserving and strengthening the various labours or means of food-income in the land, it will be the most pleasing duty of Government to help and protect him in his efforts, whatever the machinery or personnel of that Government may be. If, on the other hand, his proudest mission is to be to destroy, consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, all the self-dependent labours of his own land and convert his people into a huge parasite, a regular "white man's burden," then too, Government will have to help him. But it will only be in the direction in which he moves, even though the personnel of that Government be wholly indigenous. The Government of a

country is only a limb of its body-politic; and a limb can only move along with the rest of the body.

RELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE: ITS USE AND MISUSE

Truly speaking, therefore, it is the people that determine the nature of the rule. The unsavoury idea of "foreign" in regard to rulers or ruled arises only when the people so work themselves as not to make it practicable for the Government to help them to their good, or when they are avowedly at cross purposes. Nothing in nature is either good or bad in itself. It is all a matter of use. And as long as the use is not alright, substitution of one *thing* by another can serve no purpose, be that thing a system or a set of persons. But what is most refreshing to contemplate is that a people who misuse a government by their false activity and make it work *against* them, if ever it does so, *can* use it properly by an opposite line of activity and make it work *for* them. Does not our daily experience show that a man makes his own brother an alien and an alien as his brother under two different and opposite conditions? Rightly-minded, therefore, and resolved to look to herself for the cause of her fortunes and misfortunes, India can easily make a foreign rule indistinguishable from the best Home Rule. But wrongly minded in respect of her social, economic and religious policies, and determined to look outside herself for the cause of her weal or woe, she must make even Home Rule the worst alien possible. I say all this of course without meaning to belittle the need and the importance of political advance. I only wish to emphasize the principle underlying the proverb that every people get the government they deserve. As long as the country has *pragna* (correct consciousness), everything will be well; else, everything will be ill, be the king or his ministers who they may.

NATIONAL EFFICIENCY AND ITS SECRET

This *pragna* or consciousness can only be shown in one way. It is by recognizing that a nation, any more than an organism, is not made of homogeneous parts, and that homogeneity in dress, language, customs and manners, and least of all in function, can make no national oneness. Again, the backwardness or elevation of a country does not merely depend on the number of men that sit in the Councils of its Government or on the influence they wield. It rests, in the first instance, on its self-employing economic power, to which political power will be the necessary succedent as night to day. For the purpose

of securing that economic power, every one in the country must invest all his money with its industrial and commercial labours, buy of the existing labours of the land with a sense of responsibility, and buy also of the labours of commercially connected countries in a manner beneficial to both. For, did not the great Chamberlain exhort his countrymen in his memorable Birmingham speech to remember that buying of each other is the key-stone to national efficiency? The Indian must do likewise. He must also export the products of his labours to other countries in proportion to the consumption of their goods and in such manner and of such kinds as would not harm any. It is a mistake to believe that, by assuming the externals of a great nation, its greatness can also be, simultaneously and by that act, taken in. The externals which constitute the form or personality of a nation do not make up life. Under the vestment of any kind of external form, vigorous life may be maintained, provided the organs are strong and the functions active.

THE NATIONAL AND CASTE IDEALS COMPARED

Viewed in this light, the old Indian sociologist is the constructive universalist. The modern social reformer who seeks homogeneity in social externals may be a nationalist as the word is now understood, but his programme is not unqualifiedly constructive. As for the difference between the two ideals, it is enough to note that the national ideal, which is now the accepted ideal of the world, is but the application of the individualistic principle to the nation. Its maxim is "serve yourself, and then serve others to the extent that that service is necessary for, and is compatible with, the immediate interests of your own self". National, caste or sectarian associations are illustrations of this maxim. It is not, primarily, serving others and, through that serving, serving oneself. The national ideal therefore has no provision established for interdependence, either between class and class or between nation and nation, as part of its necessary equipment. And unless there is such an interdependence and that, in respect of some necessary wants, there cannot be, in or among nations, any feeling of interest in each other's welfare. And as long as there is no such mutual interest and responsibility, peace and goodwill cannot be ensured, however much we may wish and pray. This is the necessary consequence. So much for the new national ideal, which in spite of all its external uniformity has not yet secured for its votaries the required measure of internal unity. Let us turn to the

old Indian caste or universal ideal which expressly holds diversity or "uh-uniformity" for the sake of unity. Here, the principle is, to serve self through serving others; everything is an integral part of an interconnected whole; here, unity exists without uniformity, diversity can exist without discord. As every class in a nation is an organ in that national organism, there must be mutual responsibility between the component organs of that nation. In the same way, extend the principle gradually to the entire human-kind, and every nation, great or small, becomes an organ of the international organism. Every nation feels it its interest to look after every other. Then and then alone is the problem of universal peace within sight of a satisfactory solution. There is no other royal road to it, as far as one could see. The separatist, national or self dependent ideal is at the bottom of all the wars and strifes in recorded history and must give place to the organismal, universal or interdependent ideal, if peace should reign on God's sweet earth.

THE CHAMBERLANIAN DICTUM EXPLAINED

In this connection, a few words regarding the true significance of the Chamberlanian dictum of "buying of each other" may not be out of place. Such buying is, as already said, not to be to the supersession, even temporary, of the buying of other countries' labours. It is to be in view to help and ensure that buying. For, it is only conserving money-power in a country; and this conservation is necessary to enable that country to buy of the labour of other countries and thus to keep up international dependence which is the only basis of mutual responsibility and abiding peace. Money in the political organism being comparable to blood in the physical organism, the Chamberlanian dictum merely amounts to saying "Conserve your blood by ensuring its free circulation through your own organs; stand enabled thus to help other organisms and to maintain family and friendly compacts." This is the gospel of true swadeshism. But to say, on the other hand, "Bengal partitioned, Besant interned, ergo, swadeshism!" does certainly not sound nice; For, such swadeshism would be the swadeshism of retaliation, and not the swadeshism of self-help and reciprocity. It is not the swadeshism of a nation that seeks to strengthen itself in order to be able to serve others in grateful return for all that those others have done for it. While this buying of each other is the love of self for the sake of all, swadeshism of the other hand may carry with it the idea of hate; and when adopted as the policy of a country, it must not

only demoralise its people but dry up the springs of international goodwill on which the world's peace must ultimately rest.

CASTE AND NATIONAL UNITY

Looking into the condition of India to-day, we find two factors that are taken to obstruct economic and political advancement. They are "caste" and the "European". In regard to caste, there is the accusation writ large on its face that its exclusiveness in the matter of marital union and general social intercourse has created a want of homogeneity in the nation and that without such homogeneity economic and political progress can neither be safe nor efficient. The other day, Lord Sydenham gave it as his opinion that with caste unabolished, India is not fit for independent national life. Of course, as long as caste continues to be what it is, and as long as mutual exclusiveness alone remains between the various sections of Indian society without the purpose to be served by that exclusiveness being disclosed and the exclusiveness thereby vindicated, national life must be weak, and the social reformer Indian, and his Varnasrama Dharma brother must be at perpetual logger-heads. But once infuse meaning and purpose into those differences by making them serve what they were intended to serve and did serve when every caste had an occupation to live upon and to be guarded against being trespassed on, it will be evident that caste, instead of being fatal to national life, is the very elixir of it and goes to make and maintain it.

THE EUROPEAN AND HIS ATTITUDE

In regard to the European, it is said that he cannot permit, consistently with his interest, the unlimited advance of his Indian brother in the economic and political domains. The development of the country's resources is mostly due to their capital, their enterprise and their skill. Their planting interest is very considerable. The mines, the mills and the factories are mostly theirs; and what is most vital, their banks are the custodians and controllers of the Indian cardiac organ, *i. e.*, the purse. The Indian agriculturist is acknowledged on all hands to be depressed and indebted; the Indian artisan stands defuncted and out of date; the sowcar or the old Indian financier is retiring from the field, discredited and effete; and none of these functionaries have been replaced by indigenous agencies of any power or stability. Nor does the future present a brighter outlook. The bulk of the admissions into schools and colleges is made up of aspirants for service under some employer, governmental or non-governmental, direct or

indirect. In fact, the Indians, be they Christians or Musalmans, Hindus or Parsis, cannot now claim any measure of power to employ themselves to supply their own wants, to keep up the public revenue, or support the productive or distributive life of the country, comparable to that of the European. With India so situated, he (the European) cannot so readily be ruled out of order when he says that, in whatever scheme of reform that may be considered, interest in the country, and not merely race, should be the guiding principle. The Indian would do well to take note of these facts so that they may serve him for the purpose of emulation.

MEN AND NATIONS, THE MAKERS OF THEIR OWN DESTINIES

Here, a word of caution may be interposed. To all unbiassed students of the times, the prevalence of the dualistic notion that another people or another Government is the wielder of one's destinies is causing no little anxiety. The belief that an external agent has got one's making in its hands is a suicidal one. It must paralyse all efforts towards self-correction and self-improvement. It must lead first to a policy of blaming and asking even more than correcting and deserving. And whenever the Biblical saying "ask and it shall be given" does not prove true, disappointment, and irritation showing itself in all its logical effects, are the necessary outcome. This of course should not be.

CONCLUSION

Referring to the diverse castes, religionists and races of India and what, I think, should be their attitude each to every other, I would in conclusion simply repeat what I said ten years ago presiding at the Trivandrum College Day celebration. I said, "Create among yourselves an atmosphere of mutual forbearance, sympathy and helpfulness. If any caste has degenerated, it is as much to the shame of the other castes as to itself. It is therefore the former's duty and responsibility as well, to elevate the latter. If any section has aberrated from its appointed function in society, it is the nation's duty to enquire into the cause and satisfy itself whether it is not from circumstances for which the responsibility of that section is only of a contributory kind. If, as some believe, a new order of castes to perform the several functions should be reconstituted from the apt and deserving men in the various existing castes, that is to say, if an eclectic order is to be formed, it *will* become a hereditary one, as certainly as the demand for the

labour of that caste is kept up and its wages and honor thereby maintained at a satisfactory level. And it is right that it should be so. Otherwise, there will be wanton waste of inherited skill and a constant shuffling of the social cards. Further, in that case, where is the guarantee that the castes newly formed may not degenerate again? Rather than building and rebuilding, why not keep up society in a state of watchful and sympathetic repair? To the so-called high castes, I will ask as many have asked before, do not neglect the depressed sections of the Hindu society. They form our ground work. Without them we should be a nation poor indeed. To our Christian and Musalman brethren, I would say, 'Yours is the heritage of India's past as much as it is ours. Religion is a matter of conscience; and by having thrown off the Hindu faith, you should not believe that your entire Hindu past has been left behind as a patrimony forfeited for ever and for good'. Brotherly sympathy and indulgent love should mark the mutual relation of all Indians to whatever religious persuasion they may have at various times and under various circumstances attached themselves. To Indians as a class, I would say, 'Indulge in no feeling of even the slightest bitterness towards the European settlers in this land. They came as friends, they are friends and they will remain as friends till the end of time'. It is a consoling fashion that tempts one to blame a neighbour for casting his evil eye, if you walk carelessly and tumble down. Do not yield to that temptation. Intercourse with other nations is of momentous value and its advantages are of a very high order. If our industries have suffered in the competition with foreign ones, and if, on that account, the material condition of the Indian people has been thrown out of gear, the mistake is with the Indians themselves. Each nation must remember its own individuality and must, in every policy of commission and omission, strive to keep that individuality alive and unobliterated. Failure on whatever ground to maintain its own personality means a failure on the part of that nation in its duties to itself and to others and is dangerous to all in the long run. Our duty is to patiently trace the causes, neutralise our wrong activity, if any, individual or collective, and get back under the stimulating example and the parental help of the glorious West to a condition of equality with other nations. In grateful return for the light that once passed from the East to the West, the West is no doubt proving the karmic agent for our re-establishment to which the

present national awakening, which we see in such abundant evidence through the East, not India merely, is the most eloquent testimony. All this must certainly be a matter of time; but whenever it is to be achieved, it can only be achieved by a clear memory of the past, and a scientific forecast of the future."

THE SONG OF THE FLOWER-SELLERS

BY

MR. T. B. KRISHNASWAMI, M.A., B.L.

Jasmines white as flakes of light
Shed by moon and stars so bright
Witching unto smell and sight
Come buy! Come buy!

Other flowers of lovely hue
Loveliest nilombium blue
Violets, carnations too
Come buy! Come buy!

Yet more flowers of gold and crimson
Like to rising, setting sun
In dainty wreaths most deftly spun
Come buy! Come buy!

For the lovers, for the baby
Fresh as morn and sweet as Hebe
Scented rich as all Araby
Come buy! Come buy!


In strings of pearl & strongly plaited
For to crown a maiden's head
For to deck her bridal bed,
Come buy! Come buy!

Flowers from the sacred clod
Of sanctified uncommon sod
For the altars of your God
Come buy! Come buy!

SIR T. MUTHUSAMI AYYAR.*

BY MR. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

HIS LIFE

 SIR T. Muthusami Ayyar was born at Uchuvadi, a village two miles from Tiruvalur, on 28th January, 1832. His father was a poor Brahman by name Venkatarama Sastrial. The latter's vision was defective and it was his wife that by her thrift and intelligence kept the family in a respectable though indigent condition. Both Muthusami Ayyar and his elder Vaidyanathasami Ayyar had to take up the burden of earning their livelihood after picking up a smattering knowledge of the Tamil language. Muthusami Ayyar became an apprentice to a village karnam (accountant) and got as his salary *one rupee* after one month's work. He continued as assistant village accountant till his twelfth year. Then one day Muthusami Naik, the Tashildar of Tiruvalur, received a report of some breaches and sent for a clerk of the Taluk office to prepare a draft order giving instructions to deal with the emergency. No clerk was at that moment in office; but Muthusami Ayyar who was present there went to the Tahsildar, attended to the matter and prepared a valuable draft full of wise suggestions and directions which pleased the Tahsildar immensely. On another occasion he stated accurately from memory the balance of the kist due by a very rich *Mirasdar* in regard to the latter's numerous lands. He had a great desire to study the English language. Muthusami Naik helped him to realise this great dream of his youthful life. By his kindness and munificence Muthusami Ayyar was enabled to study in the Mission school at Negapatam. He helped him afterwards to go to Madras to complete his education. Muthusami Ayyar went to Madras with letters of introduction to Madhava Rao, afterwards Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao and to Sir Henry Montgomery. He joined the High School which has since blossomed into the Presidency College. By his extraordinary industry and intelligence he won golden opinions from all his teachers. The old High School was then managed by a Council of Education, composed

of such great and good men as Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, Mr. William Holloway, and Sir Henry Montgomery and staffed by famous educationists like Mr. Powell. Muthusami Ayyar completed his High school course there. In 1854 the Council of Education awarded a prize of Rs. 500 for the best essay in English. Muthusami Ayyar won that prize. His educational career was thus one of exceptional brilliance. His favourite author was Oliver Goldsmith and it is said that he read the *Vicar of Wakefield* for the fifty-first time one year before he died.

As a proficient of the High school, he was eligible to take up public service and he was fitted, by nature and education, to fill with distinction any office of public trust and responsibility bestowed upon him. In his twenty-third year he was appointed as a tutor in the High School on a salary of Rs. 60 per mensem by Mr. Powell. Mr. Powell was so struck with his remarkable abilities that he even proposed that Muthusami Ayyar should go to England to study and compete for the I. C. S. examination. But Muthusami Ayyar was averse to undertaking a long sea voyage and had further to take up the task of maintaining his family, and hence the proposal was not eventually accepted. Muthusami Ayyar afterwards gave up his temporary appointment as a lecturer in the High School and entered public service as a record-keeper in the Tanjore Collectorate through the kindness of Sir Henry Montgomery who was then a Member of the Governor's Executive Council. Then Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, the Director of Public Instruction, appointed him as a Deputy Inspector of Schools on a monthly salary of Rs. 150.

After his working with signal success for fifteen months as an Inspector of Schools, Mr. Holloway had him appointed as a District Munsiff in the third grade. He had in the meanwhile passed the Pleaders' Test held in Tanjore and conducted by the District Judge in 1853. He was posted to the Court at Tranquebar. In a few months, however, he was appointed as an Inam Deputy Collector and served as such with marked ability for three years. He was invested with

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for the "Biographies of Eminent Indians Series," G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

magisterial powers afterwards and posted to the North Arcot district and then to Tanjore City. While he was Deputy Magistrate at Tanjore, a rich sowcar was tried before him for cheating. Mr. John Bruce Norton appeared in that case and conducted it. He was so much struck with Muthusami Ayyar's abilities that after his return to Madras he told Mr. Holloway and Sir Alexander Arbuthnot that "judicial talent of a very high order was wasted in the Revenue Department." At that time the Sub-Judgeship of South Canara fell vacant. Three names were asked by the Government to be suggested for the vacancy. Mr. Holloway suggested in his demi-official note Muthusami Ayyar's name thrice instead of suggesting three different names. Muthusami Ayyar was then appointed Sub-Judge—Principal Sadar Amin as he was then called—at Mangalore on 9th July 1865. His judicial temper and integrity and his industry and intellectual power enabled him to win great distinction in this new and honourable sphere of public work.

In July 1868 he was appointed as a Police Magistrate at Madras. While he was a Presidency Police Magistrate he studied law and passed the B. L. Examination in the first class. Sir V. Bhashyam Ayyangar passed the examination in the same year and headed the list. Mr. Muthusami Ayyar was then appointed as a Small Cause Judge at Madras. The Government then proposed to appoint him as a District and Sessions Judge, but the clamour of the bureaucracy was so great that that proposal was dropped. While he was a Small Cause Judge, he was instructed in German by Mr. Justice Holloway and studied German law books.

In 1877 he attended the Delhi Darbar which was held when Her Majesty Queen Victoria assumed the title of the Empress of India. On 1st January 1878 the distinction of a Companion of the Indian Empire was conferred on him in recognition of his great qualities and eminent services.

On 17th July, 1878, he was appointed as a Sub-protem Judge of the Madras High Court after a brief term of office as Small

Cause Judge at Madura from July 1877 to April 1878. He was the first Indian to have this unique honour in this Presidency and his appointment was universally acclaimed. His clear grasp of facts, his varied and full experience of all branches of life and administration, his wonderful industry and memory, his remarkable store of legal learning and acumen based on a masterly grasp of the principles of common law and statute law, his intimate knowledge of Indian customs and habits, and his admirable power and perspicacity of expression are abundantly clear from his luminous judgments. His judicial independence and integrity are worthy of our unstinted homage and admiration. His lofty conception of the duty and function of a judge was thus eloquently stated by him in his Convocation Address on the occasion of the Convocation of the Madras University in 1882. He said then :

The Court of Justice is a sacred temple; the Judges presiding over it are, though men, the humble instruments in the interests of truth, and those who enter this holy edifice with unholy thought, or desecrate it with unworthy actions, are traitors to their God and to their country. Those of you who may rise to the Bench should recollect that the power you may be called on to exercise in the name of your sovereign is according to one of your ancestors a Power Divine.

In July 1891 he was appointed to act as Chief Justice when Sir Arthur Collins took leave. In 1892 the honour of knighthood was conferred on him. Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar continued to perform his great duties in his usual thorough and conscientious way. He fell ill in November 1894 and then recovered in December to some extent. But his health declined again rapidly and he passed away on 25th January 1895. His numerous admirers subscribed largely to testify to their universal regard entertained for him by all persons in the land and the memorial took the shape of the fine statue which now adorns the Madras High Court Buildings in a very conspicuous place.

SIR T. MUTHUSAMI AYYAR THE MAN

He had a gentle and affable disposition and a simple and unostentatious nature. He

was a great and noble embodiment of plain living and high thinking. He had not the least element of official or intellectual pride and was full of winning and attractive modesty. As Mr. Eardley Norton said of him, "he was too great to be vain," and he was full of courtesy "not because courtesy was expedient but because courtesy was an inalienable portion of himself."

His perfect gentlemanliness and courtesy and goodness were exhibited in relation to all persons irrespective of their position or power. In relation to his colleagues he showed the ideal combination of respectfulness and self-respect.

His general goodness and mercifulness were never-failing elements of his nature and spread an atmosphere of love and peace about him. It is a well-known fact that he was seldom inclined to award or confirm the penalty of death in criminal cases.

SIR T. MUTHUSAMI AYYAR AS JUDGE

His eminence as a judge was acknowledged on all hands and was the theme of universal praise. Mr. Whitby Stokes in his general introduction to the Anglo-Indian Codes stated: "Of these judgments, none can be read with more pleasure and few with more profit than those of the Hindu Muthusami Ayyar and the Mahomedan Sayyed Mahmood. For the subtle races that produce such lawyers no legal doctrine can be too refined, no legal machinery can be too elaborate".

Certain special and excellent judicial traits of Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar deserve prominent notice. He used to write separate judgments when he differed from his colleague or when the importance of the case required a separate pronouncement at his hands. In important cases wherein historical retrospects of institutions or customs or usages were necessary, he used to take great pains and sum up their growth and development in a masterly way. His love of truth and justice for themselves and not for any other considerations is clear from his readiness to change his views if he felt that they needed revision (see I. L. R. 10 Madras 288; 12 Madras III). He stated often that the reason of the law should always be borne in mind so that the

barren pursuit of mere forms of law may not lead us into abysses of injustice. When presiding over a meeting of the Maine Historical Society he said:

It is not enough to know a rule of law—and yet many of our graduates who have committed to memory several rules of law, think that thereby they become lawyers. Does not every one see that they are not lawyers? What is necessary is that they should not only know the rule of law, but the reason on which the rule is based. He who does not know the reason of law does not know law.

In regard to judicial social legislation under the guise of declaring the law he held very decided views. Sir Arthur Collins said of him: "On Hindu Law, perhaps he was the greatest authority in this country, sound, good, and never trying to break down old customs, never afraid of saying that which he believed to be true, even if he had to differ from some in cases that were decided." Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar said in I.L.R. 11 Madras 53:

It is desirable that in such matters there should be no divergence between the custom obtaining in the country and the law laid down by Courts of Justice.

AS LEGISLATOR

His advice was sought by the Government on all important proposals for legislation and his Minutes on the Malabar Marriage Bill, the Ilbert Bill, the Hindu Gains of Learning Bill, the Jury Bill, the Religious Endowments Bill, the Infant Marriage and Widow Marriage Bill, the Age of Consent Bill, and the Local Self-Government Bill are admirable for their sobriety, their ripe wisdom and their luminous grasp of the proper principles and legitimate scope of legislation.

MISCELLANEOUS ACTIVITIES

He was a Fellow of the Madras University and was afterwards elected a member of the Syndicate, which office was held by him till he died. In 1882 he delivered the Convocation Address to the graduates of the Madras University, and his address on that occasion is full of true wisdom and nobility of thought and sentiment. He took a keen interest in various public movements though his office precluded his taking any prominent part in political movements. He was the President of the

Graduates Association which was formed on 12th April, 1885, and which ceased to exist after some years. He was the Vice-president of the National Indian Association and took also a prominent part in the founding of the Victoria Caste and Gosha Hospital. He was the first President of the Maine Historical Society which ceased to exist after a time. He had a keen interest in the social and educational uplift of his countrymen and his sober and weighty views were valuable factors in the regeneration of the people consistently with preserving their racial genius in vigorous and powerful life.

VIEWS ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

He was never weary of laying down that perfect official probity and integrity were required for individual and national well-being. He said :—

Remember that he who has no force of character, but who suffers himself to be so seduced into false principles by the necessities of ambition or of self-interest, or by the partialities of relationship or friendship, cannot respect himself in the sober intervals of reflection, however talented he may be and whatever success he may secure for a time; and that he who has no self-respect has no right to expect that others should respect him. It is impossible to rate too highly the importance of high character for integrity among natives in the Civil Service. One corrupt man will not only ruin himself but will also bring discredit on the whole class to which he belongs.

In his evidence before the Public Service Commission he gave expression to the following valuable and mature views :—

The dissatisfaction with the Statutory system is mainly due to the suppression of proved merit and ability in actual service.

The principle and traditions of enlightened statesmanship and legislation seem to me to require in this country that no special privileges that derogate from the equal rights of citizenship should be recognised, except either on the ground that the particular privilege claimed must be tolerated for a time on considerations of policy or as an unavoidable administrative imperfection or for the reason that its preservation is necessary as a special protection against injustice,

POLITICAL VIEWS

An official could not be an active politician

or agitator but he is bound to have political views because proper political life is the prime necessity, and the only means, of self-realisation for man as a unit of society. Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar said once : "I would ask one and all of you to remember that no nation whose material civilisation is primitive is politically great." He was of opinion that the continuance of enlightened and progressive British rule is necessary for our material and political development.

He declared himself emphatically in favour of simultaneous examinations, a measure of reform which the Indian National Congress and eminent Indian publicists have been demanding for many decades past. He said :

I am in favour of simultaneous examinations, competitive in India and England, provided that there is no insuperable difficulty in holding the *viva voce* examination. . . . A simultaneous competition is desired, because a good number of young men in India will go to England and stay there for some time more readily after they succeed at the competitive examination than before it. The concession is the fairest that can be made.

He held decided and valuable views as to the political goal of India. He said :—

For a long time to come and until India is thoroughly regenerated we must be a protected nation, and where can we find better protection than in the British constitution? Even when India is regenerated, I for one think that our relation to Great Britain must be that of a Colonial Constitutional Government affiliated to and in federal loyal union with the parent constitution. By that time so much British capital will have been sunk in this country, so many of our plateaus will have been colonised by British settlers, and the tie of mutual interest and attachment will have been so much strengthened that the two nations will regard each other with that brotherly feeling with which they regarded one another before they left their Caspian home in remote antiquity.

EDUCATIONAL VIEWS

Not only was Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar concerned with the Educational Department during some years of his life, but he was all through life full of a genuine desire for the educational uplift of the Indian people. Every problem in our land is ultimately and really a problem of

education, and unless educational regeneration in respect of methods as well as of ideals and from an extensive as well as an intensive point of view can be achieved, all hope of steady and sustained national progress must remain an unfulfilled dream. Hence it is of special interest to us to know what were the wise and mature views of such a great patriot and judge as Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar on this question of supreme national importance.

He always laid great emphasis on the teachers' influence by example and precept as a vital factor in real and valuable mental uplift and equipment. This is an aspect that is increasingly ignored partly from the size of the classes, partly from the best talent of the country not being attracted to the noble teachers' profession, and partly from the commercial conception of education which is itself a manifestation of the widespread and ignoble commercial conception of life as a whole.

In his splendid Convocation Address he dealt with three important and valuable cultural aspects of university education :—

The value of your university education consists less in the general knowledge which you have already acquired than in the capacity to add to it which you have been taught to cultivate.

Remember that your value to this university consists not in the official position, or professional eminence you may attain to, not in the fortune or name you may make for yourselves, but in the extent to which you disseminate the principles and influences awakened in you by culture, and convert them, as well as in the cases of others as in your own, from mere general opinions into impulses of action and rules of conduct.

And let me remind you of the important duty you owe to the Government, to whom you are indebted for the liberal education you have received, of extending to your less fortunate brethren, in such measure as your opportunities allow, the light of knowledge of which you have had so considerable a share.

VIEWS ON INDIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar was decidedly of opinion that our primary literary duty is the development of virile vernacular prose literature in which we can have the summation of the highest eastern and western thought.

He gave equally wholesome and valuable advice in regard to Sanscrit study—a matter in regard to which modern educationists and publicists spoiled by different agencies of denationalisation masquerading as missionary education, secular education and national education are culpably negligent or ignorant.

SOCIAL VIEWS

In regard to social regeneration, he had very definite views definitely realised by him in his daily life. While warning men not to bow their heads before ancient error because it was ancient, he exhorted Indians not to become denationalised. He said in his Convocation Address :—

Never denationalise yourselves, never blush to own that you are Hindus, and never barter the influence which you possess among your countrymen and which you may exercise for their good, for the paltry vanities of dress or taste.

He stated that Our duty is to examine the old and the new soberly and wisely. He said :

The proper spirit in which such work should be undertaken is, to borrow from a philosophic jurist one of intellectual freedom, of independence of all authority, but this sense of freedom should not degenerate into arrogant dogmatism, but should be tempered by that feeling of humility which would result from an unbiassed contemplation of your limited individual powers.

The first thing to be done is to study our civilisation properly and in a spirit of love. In his address to the Maine Historical Society he said :


Unless in this way we have an accurate knowledge of our own civilisation it is idle to talk of men who do not possess that knowledge as being able to bring about a regeneration of India. Of course, it is not because a theorist from the standpoint of reason says that a particular thing is good that therefore that it should be adopted by the whole community. What the theorist says may be good; but the methods which he suggests will prove crude and ill-adapted to the habits of the people in the country.

Such was the great life of Sir T. Muthusami Ayyar, and such was his message of hope and uplift to the motherland.

ITALIAN HISTORY.

A REVIEW BY

MR. R. M. STATHAM, M.A.

 THE book under review fulfils a long felt want. Though the literature on Italian History is excessively large, the number of comprehensive histories is extremely small. Indeed the present book is the only general sketch of Italian History, in English, that we know of. The works of Villari, Hodgkin, Creighton, Stillman, Bolton King and Trevelyan are well-known to every student of History, but they are all specialised in their scope, and are more fitted for detailed study than for general reading.

The history of Italy has been the history of particular movements and powers rather than a national history such as that of France or England. In England from the Saxons, and in France from the Capets we can trace the development of a continuous movement, but in Italy the movements are varied and antagonistic. The power of the Barbarians, the growth of the Church, the efforts of France, Spain, Austria and even England to divide and spoil Italy, the history of the mediæval city states, and finally the more glorious record of the *Risorgiments*. It is in this varied and detached light that Italian history has generally presented itself to the foreign reader. Just as in the field of art and literature in Italy one pictures almost without order or sequence the works of Dante, Machiavelli and Tasso the golden age of Lorenzo the magnificent, the glories of Florence, Milan and Venice, the works of Botticelli, Leonardo de Vinci, Raffiello and Michel Angelo; so in Italian history one pictures the great champions of the Church Leo, Gregory, Innocent and Julius, the ever changing battles of the Lombard plain which began with Rome and remain to-day, the jealous struggles of Church and State, of prince with prince and city with city; the glory, horror and tragedy of the Borgias and of Il Moro, the ordeal of Savonarola, the Young Italy of Mazzini, Cavour and Garibaldi.

From such a maze it is difficult to create a succinct and continuous narrative, but the authors of the present work have admirably succeeded in their task. The reader is aware of no break in the history as one writer gives place to another, and in spite of the special attractions of the many subjects just referred to no undue

or disproportionate prominence is given to particular movements and the careful tracing of national development has been adhered to throughout.

Perhaps the most valuable and the best written portions of the book are the chapters which do not deal directly with historical facts but with the social life of the times and the development of literature and art.

The literature on the Italian Renaissance is immense, and for the ordinary student or reader who may not have time or desire to peruse "that delightful scoundrel" Benvenuto Cellini, the many histories of the Italian cities, the works of Machiavelli, Sismondi, Villari and Symonds and the ample historical novels on the period, the new volume is excellent. The authors in their preface refer to their work as a "text-book", but fortunately it is by no means an ordinary text-book, or perhaps we should say it is what a text-book ought to be. It possesses few of the horrors of the ordinary text-book on European history, the endless dates, the masses of confusing detail and dry information, the insistent chronological succession of reign to reign or rule to rule. The book is in fact a very timely publication not only for the reason already given that it is the only comprehensive text-book hitherto published in English, but also because the present war and the share that our gallant and ancient ally Italy has taken in it has awakened a new fond interest in Italian life and History. It is but natural that when we read of the Austro-German advance on Venice and the bombing of Milan, Padua and Verona, our thoughts should turn swiftly back to "the grandeur that was Rome", to the never-surpassed painting and architecture of northern Italy, to the wealth of mediæval Italian trade, to the genius of Galileo, Galvani and Grimaldi, to the fascinating but sinister history of the Papacy and to one of the most glorious pages in history, the achievement of Italian Unity. Italy is rich in history, and though Barbarian hordes, foreign monarchs, ambitious Popes and selfish cities strove to hide her entity yet the continuity with Rome is unbroken and the Roman tradition inspires her to-day.

Most authors prefer to close their histories before the 20th century, but the present volume ends with 1915 and so traces for the student the Italian share, which is of vital interest just now in the North African and Balkan campaigns.

*Italy, Mediæval and Modern History. By E. M. Jamison, C. M. Ady, K. D. Vernon, and C. Sanford Terry. Published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. Price, 5/6 net.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC SUICIDE

BY MR. G. S. MUKADAM

THE teachings of industrial history of civilised countries of the world convince us that trade and industries established in peaceful days are gained during war time; that trade follows flag in as much as the latter shelters the former and flag follows trade which makes way for it: both these dictas operating the expansion of political and industrial power of the enterprising country; that war, with all its attendant horrors has its uses in affording the best training ground on which might securely be built up the whole economic destiny of a country.

Had it not been for war, the present prosperity of many advanced countries could not have been the result. The Romans found their industries and commerce considerably expanded with the successful termination of the Punic Wars, and became veritably a sea-faring nation bent on yet higher achievements culminating to their proud position of being the conquerors of all the then known world. But the foundations of this greatness were laid on the spoils of Carthage, which they subdued during the Punic Wars. This period covering the Punic Wars betray a race for commercial supremacy between the Romans and the Carthaginians during peaceful days and a struggle—I dare say, a strongly contested struggle—for political supremacy between them during war time. To cite instances of modern history it will be well to begin with England. How the Spanish wars were made to serve the interests of England by hitting to the mark her old rival, how the Religious wars and especially the Civil wars of France led to the establishment of woollen and other sundry industries imported by the French Huguénots artisans and Protestant craftsmen from Flanders and other persecuted lands; how admirably the foreign policy of Protestant England was mainly guided by economic motives and not by a mere sentimental regard for devotion to Reformation in Europe; how the mask was torn aside by the soldier-statesman, Cromwell, who persecuted a power which England herself had helped to come into being and wellnigh ruined the Dutch commerce by his tyrannical Navigation Laws; and how, to the great surprise of the French and Portuguese, the English alone came out victoriously in the bid for Power in India—are matters of history. It will be clearly perceived that through all these wars, commerce has progressed on the powder cart and the power which showed

most energy and will necessary to carry it through to the last amid strenuous struggles, naturally won the game.

Lord Rosebury's famous dictum that 'The future war will be a commercial war,' has come out to be literally true. The present world-war was brought about by Germany's aggressive acts to reach the sea in the West of Europe, to expand her colonial possessions, to secure the freedom of the seas in order to maintain her ever increasing world-wide commerce and guarantee her economic prosperity by political supremacy. The whole world is in arms and the business-like United States in America and the little Englander of the East are running, on an extensive scale, the profiteering trade. The almost gigantic strides with which the Japanese trade has increased, during recent years, appear to be phenomenal. The silent invasion of India by Japanese industries and commerce compels us to diagnose the awful situation created by the helplessness of the Indian industries and commerce. If we weigh the situation calmly, it will appear appalling enough to characterise the same as India's economic suicide.

India is a land of Destiny. Her far-famed resources attracted the cupidity of foreign invaders in the past and continue to do so even still, even though we know it as the most poverty-stricken country in the civilised world. Her fruitful soil and the patient industry of her inhabitants rendered her vast resources yield plenty of income, and India was noted far and wide for its prosperity. Her colonising activities in Java, Sumatra and other lands give abundant proof of her extensive sea borne trade, and the over-land route to the West brought her precious cargo to the markets of the Roman world. It was the quest for this mine of wealth and home of industry that led to project for the discovery of the Route to the East by sea. With the fall of Constantinople, Venice ceased to be the emporium of Eastern trade. Portugal led the way to the finding out of another route for the precious Indian trade and with the laying at anchor of the first Portuguese ship that sailed for Indian waters in the harbour at Calicut and Vasco-de Gama's paying homage to the Court of Zamorin, India was thrown open for commercial competition among the sea-faring nations of Western Europe. Then began that systematic exploitation of India's

resources for the benefit of West European nations and with the establishment of the English East India Company in power, India saw her fruitful industries vanish before her very eyes!

India has been the home of cotton fabric industry from the earliest times. Its cotton, known as 'white wool,' was famous throughout to the ancients, and its cloth was appreciated by Western countries in the days of overland route. The Calicut calico and the finest Dacca muslin were remarkable as the finest fabrics which human skill could produce.

Those were the days of mercantile policy and English statesmen then did not hesitate to render the sale of these articles in English markets prohibitive by levying a special duty on Indian cotton fabrics. The East India Company did the rest by pillorying the Indian weaving industry of Dacca and thus came to be lost this priceless heritage of the great Indian art.

With the transfer of the Government of India from the hands of the trading East India Company to the British Crown, came the indirect, silent invasion of the British industries and commerce which flooded the markets of India with foreign articles and completed the ruin of the economic integrity of India. During all the past invasions of Mahomedan rule, India had never lost her economic entity and hence, barring political freedom, India continued to enjoy all the blessings of national life and her prosperity continued to be intact to its very core. It stood the test of famines which, though severe in themselves, did not find the people reduced to a helpless position of total distress. The people could tide over these periods of scarcity. But only now, famine-stricken people are fast in the grip of Death, passing as they do from year to year through periodic distress which generally reduce them to a starving point of mere existence. The elasticity of India's economic position is now no more.

India received for her consumption, along with most articles of British Commerce, the 'benevolent' Free Trade policy which was discarded by every other civilised country as commercial trap and an economic fallacy. Britain, which after being sufficiently nourished by the mercantile system of commercial policy, developed her industries and commerce, only thought fit to stand on the vantage ground of Free Trade, in order that she may specialise herself the manufacturing industry and get from other countries the necessary raw materials and foodstuffs. It was to the interest of her manufacturing industry that she should devote herself wholly to it, while providing

for her other needs and raw materials elsewhere; and hence, under the convenient mask of a Free Trader, England set herself about on a philanthropic mission in favour of Free Trade. Other nations—France, Germany and United States of America saw through it, soon discarded the selfish system and took to the natural policy of economic development *i.e.*, that which suits best a country's own environments and its place in the world's progress. India alone got and still gets the undivided care of this truly commercial mission and it should simply be a wonder if we do not open our eyes and realise the gravity of the situation now.

If we take a review of the present situation, we shall be convinced of our helpless position. Everywhere, our progress in the economic life is entirely paralysed and we suffer the indignity of subjection to foreign interests whose so-called privileges are closely guarded by the ruling authorities in India, as by a family compact. They only want us to produce raw materials for their own flourishing British industries and their anxieties are sharpened by their greed for power, whenever the interests of Indian manufacturing industries are brought into prominence: hence, do they, in season an out of season, harp on the theme of India being an agricultural country. The pitiable fact that agricultural industry is the main resort of the Indian people at present, rather argues in favour of our view that the warrior class, not being favoured with equal opportunities as those enjoyed by the ruling Anglo-Indian Caste, have turned in times of adversity their swords into ploughs: that the weaving industry having been handicapped by adverse competition has been exchanged for that of farming and that the generality of the people, having no other craft to fall back upon, have to take recourse to agriculture in times of adversity. India possesses abundant resources to maintain her vast population which is sure with its industry and patient skill to develop every line of human activity. One of India's important needs and most legitimate ambitions at present is her industrial expansion which seeks to create a variety and multiplicity of purely Swadeshi industrial and commercial concerns, and development of markets suitable and at the same time profitable for Indians of every taste and capacity.

The first thing which stands prominently before us when we survey the economic resources of India is the fact that very little has been done to deal adequately with her abundant mineral wealth. India has done absolutely

nothing to develop her mining industries by applying vigorously modern scientific methods. When India can boast of possessing richest mines, it is curious to find that only 530,000 persons or in other words 17 in every 10,000 of the total population are supported by the extraction of minerals. Out of these figures, more than half the number is supported by coal mining industry. This is absolutely a poor record of a country rich in mines, so rich that it can supply not only herself but most of the world, all the requirements of a civilised life. India can well boast of self-sufficiency in mineral wealth, and it is most desirable that this altogether untrodden field should attract industrial capacity and commercial adventure. The Tatas have already shown us the way.

The manufacturing industry is only in its infancy and the enormous raw produce in India demands the energy and organising capacity of Indians to uplift India from its present humble position as the granary of the Empire and farm-house of the world. Of the 3½ crores persons dependent on industrial occupations, nearly one-fourth or 2·9 of the total population are supported by textile industries. Of these, the most important from the numerical point of view are industries connected with cotton only. The great obstacle that meets us in our efforts to improve the manufacturing industries is the neglect of the British Government towards the growth of textile industries in India, due to the opposition of powerful British interests towards this rising Indian industry. The levy of the excise duty on cotton goods is most iniquitous, and even if there may arise any possibility of the Indian textile industry to compete with Lancashire products, the measure, I make bold to say, is not justified as a defence. It is the duty of the Government to protect its infant industries from harmful foreign competition, including even the British one. A careful and unbiassed study of facts reveals the truth that the Indian cotton industry has never stood in the way of the British cloth trade; that the latter has invariably progressed from year to year: and that the field of fine piece-goods trade secured by the English cloth industry has yet been altogether safe. In view of all these facts and also owing to the noble sacrifices made by India in the defence of the British Empire, the injustice of the excise cotton duty should seem sufficiently clear so as to justify its immediate removal from the Statute Book.

But besides the cotton industry which, thank God, owing to the pluck and energy shown by our people during the American Civil War has come to a stay in the land, there are so many other industries to render the abundant supply of raw materials into finished manufactured products, than there is no reason why the Government should be indifferent towards the question of improving their prospects. Here the question arises about the change of fiscal policy. The interests of home products imperatively demand the raising up of a wall of tariffs built on a protective basis and a well-considered scheme to support infant industries by State subsidies, guarantees, bounties, and other adequate means. The Government should render active help to promoters of nascent industries by providing banking facilities through Industrial Banks established in all provinces of India.

A careful survey of the statistics of the manufacturing industry shows us that its progress is far from satisfactory. In the whole of India, there are only 7,113 factories employing about 2,000,000 persons or nearly 7 per 1,000 of the total population. Of these 558,000 are employed in textile industries; 224,000 in mines; 125,000 in transport; 74,000 in food industries; 71,000 in metal industries; 48,000 in chemical product and 45,000 in industries of luxuries. This is, really, nothing but the lamentable state of manufacturing industry of a country whose raw produce in enormous, whose railway facilities are extensive, the patient industry and skill of whose people are everywhere applauded and whose Government is enlightened. With all these advantages, as enjoyed by India, the progress is inexplicably slow. Japan, within the life-time of a generation, won its proud place among the progressive nations of the world. The British nation which is responsible for the good government in India since more than a century and a half, has most signally failed in this matter. The Japanese organised their resources, modernised their commercial activity and revolutionised their industrial system with the result that they soon found themselves a Power. In India, the people could not look for any substantial help from the Government; while the Japanese easily received timely and necessary help from their truly paternal Government; and thus the Indian industries and commerce languished into splendid isolation. Can we not now expect British statesmanship to play a truly benevolent rôle by uplifting India to the position of trusted

comradeship in the British Empire? It is, indeed, high time now for them to consider India as something more than a mere dependency, both politically and economically. As a measure of earnest for this Imperial partnership, India may well ask for real fiscal autonomy being conceded to her Government and as a necessary corollary to the same, the Government be made representative and responsible to the people of India.

The most deplorable feature of our economic dependency is that out of the total population, only 6 per cent. are supported by trade. Of this, the most startling fact is that more than half of the number are supported by trade in food-stuffs only, most of them being merely petty village shopkeepers. With industry quite feeble, trade almost gone, plague, having made of India a hospitable home and famines paying regular periodic visitations, India is shown before world's gaze decked in gorgeous colours of prosperity by her rulers and it seems never was a more mocking spectacle presented to World's Carnival. The picture of poverty-stricken Indian peasant is familiar, and one wonders how far this hypocrisy can go in depicting India as a prosperous country when the average income of an Indian is the lowest in the scale of civilised life in the world.

If prosperity is to be judged by apparent figures of industrial concerns of large scale production carried on by few and by estimates of British capital sunk in the soil, the facts cannot be more misleading. India has been known as the home of cottage industries, and these have mysteriously disappeared. The great majority of larger concerns e. g. jute trade, tea and coffee plantations, gold and manganese mines, are entirely monopolised by Europeans directly under their own management and supervision, and poor Indians are relegated to employment in the clerical staff which these foreign capitalists, unfortunately, could not import from their own country. The irony of the situation is aggravated by the sluggish disregard towards the claims of Indians for opportunities which alone supply the training ground necessary for equipment. If such were to be the shows of prosperous India, it will be most desirable if the hidden wealth of India continues to remain in the bosom of the mother earth only waiting for the touch of organised efforts carried on by the children of the soil.

Banking is the handmaid of commerce and it is quite natural that Indian commerce should suffer without adequate banking facilities. The

Banks, in India, have not discharged their functions as the reservoirs of industrial activity, if by an impartial adjustment of the monetary conditions of the markets, they were meant to foster Indian industries and expand commerce. They have been captured by powerful British interests and it is no wonder, if by a careful manipulation of State finances, the British commerce has found an admirable recruiting ground in India. Without State help, the Indian Banks have withered away and it is quite natural that unsupported as it is, Indian commerce ceases to support Indian industries and it only deals in foreign agency business and earns its commission for bartering India's economic integrity by carrying foreign products far and wide into the corners of India.

The establishment of mercantile marine forms a necessary complement to the commerce and industries of a country, and is vital to the mainstay of economic prosperity. In India we utterly lack a truly Indian mercantile marine founded on Indian enterprise. The most astounding revelation of the present war is the truth of the great maxim of political economy that foreign commerce and an *independent* mercantile marine go hand in hand. Why did Cromwell and subsequent administrators in England compelled British colonies and other countries trading with the British possessions to employ British ships and, by a rigorous enforcement of the Navigation Laws, developed the carrying trade of England? It was for the inestimable services that a mercantile marine rendered both in peace and war towards the maintenance of commerce and as a necessary adjunct to the Navy. Protestant England and Puritan Cromwell went to war with the arch-Protestant Holland only to capture her extensive carrying trade and the Dutch, having only a small base of operations, were compelled to see their carrying trade almost gone, their naval stations captured by the British Navy which soon rose to be a Power in Europe. The foundations of the greatness of British Naval Power were laid on the broad basis of a mercantile marine which is said to-day to be the largest in the world.

If India wants to see another evidence of the truth of the great maxim, the recent growth of Japanese mercantile marine affords abundant illustration about its imperative necessity for the expansion of commerce and industries. Japanese commerce scatters itself far and wide on the surface of the globe, carried onward by the flying squadrons of various Yusen Kaishas of the

Glorious Rising Sun, heavy laden with varied cargo of Japanese industries. Japanese commerce to-day does not depend on any chance supply of transit facilities. While, Indian commerce pursues only a precarious existence. Suppose, owing to military exigencies, the British mercantile marine is called off to the Home waters to render immediate assistance to the British Navy and be on attendance at the British Isles, and if, through unforeseen political troubles Japan suspends the services of her various liners, what would remain to the lot of Indian commerce, if not to ply merely a coasting trade in India. Our absolute dependence in this respect ought to be immediately removed, and by energetic endeavours both by the State and the people a truly Indian mercantile marine should come into being. Its want is conspicuous by the total absence of Indian carrying trade, and we are compelled to pay exorbitant charges in freight and suffer a national indignity. The past which was quite unlike our present helpless position, might inspire us with energy and the future is bound to be ours only if we are true to the present. The shipping activity of ancient and mediæval India was great and we have only to modernise our efforts toward this direction. There is no reason to believe that with an enormous coast line and ever increasing commerce, the future possibilities cannot be multiplied. The integrity of commercial activity is maintained only by a free and unfettered system of mercantile marine and so long as India does not possess this essential weapon of economic independence, her commercial progress is bound to be precarious.

What India most badly requires in the present helpless state of her industries and commerce, is complete freedom to mould its fiscal policy, unfettered by any so-called vested interests which receive unfair advantage over the Indian claims at the hands of the British Government. The unfair treatment which the Indian claims receive at the hands of the close oligarchy of the bureaucratic Government officers is simply revolting to a degree and, not to mention the recent scandal of contracts exposed to light before the Industries Commission by that well known public spirited merchant of Bombay—I mean Mr. Karrimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy—many will be the shortcomings searched out if a public commission were to enquire into the methods adopted by the Government officers when dealing with European and Indian firms. The inequality of treatment must cease now, with the dawn of a higher consciousness of Imperial citizenship all over the British Empire. India at present wants not

words, but solid action. Commissions will be of no avail now that the high moment in Indian Economic History has actually arrived when a bold and comprehensive economic policy ought to be introduced, with a view to develop Indian commerce and industries. Other countries are acting to the advantages of the present moment due to the world-wide war; how long shall India afford to deliberate and deliberate in vain? India has now very little faith in commissions when she ought to have fairly well launched in a career of economic activity on a large scale. Even still, if the British Government sees its way to grant the necessary fiscal autonomy, much might be done towards rearing up industries and developing commerce: so that, India might be uplifted from its present dependent position and enabled to enjoy in the Imperial family of British Commonwealth her due position of partnership and defend the Empire with manifold means at her disposal.

However this may be, what earthly reason is there for Indian Native States to remain altogether in the background and do practically nothing to further the economic progress of their subjects? They surely cannot urge the plea of 'splendid isolation.' Indians as the rulers of these States are themselves. Their subjects ought, surely, have no such complaints of State indifference as their countrymen in British India have. Their Governments must take paternal care of the industries and commerce. The hands of the rulers of Indian States are quite free, constitutionally and practically, to deal as they prefer with the internal administration of their States. The late Viceroy of India, Lord Minto, defined the non-intervention policy of the Government of India with the internal administration of the Native States in his famous Udaipur speech, as the corner stone of British Indian Empire. One fails to understand why the rulers of Indian States do not take the proper initiative concerning the development of the economic resources of their States. They, rather, ought to lead India in this matter and make good their abundant opportunities with the power and capital at their disposal.

Out of 1,773,168 sq. miles area with a population of 320,000,000 i. e. one-fifth of the total population of the whole world, 675,267 sq. miles area with a population of 70,000,000 are occupied by Indian States, the principal of them being Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore and Kashmir. Looking to the progress made by these States, one cannot help remarking that except Mysore, perhaps, very little has been done by the other States towards the development of

their industries and commerce. A glance at the Geological Survey Reports of the Indian States convinces us that the Indian States in no way possess less valuable economic resources than British India. Mysore has done something in connection with the research work; but, it is a matter of great regret that no other State has taken any initiative as yet. Baroda State which has made wonderful progress in educational matters and is even ahead of British India in that respect, has, I am very much astonished to find, practically closed the doors of economic progress within its boundaries. The Gwalior State, so far as my information goes, has spent a good deal in encouraging the State industries and commerce without, however, any practical result so to say. Hyderabad, Indore, and Kashmir have only recently commenced their operations for furthering their economic prospects, and we will have to wait before any judgment can be passed about their efforts.

The spasmodic efforts made by few rulers of Indian States can hardly do credit to their sympathy or administrative capacity. Their sympathies are expected to be enlisted in the cause of economic progress in India and these should be something more substantial than mere lip expressions. Their governing capacities have ample room for play in this field in as much as the declared policy of the British Government is that of nonintervention regarding the internal affairs of the Indian States. What then impedes the economic progress of Indian States? May I venture to enquire why no progress has yet been made to encourage their internal trade and industries? Can the Maharajah of Bikaner who declared at the last Imperial Conference in London, that the Indians were unfit for self-government!—even, say that they were equally unfit for economic independence? I am afraid, no one, who has the least sympathy for the welfare of his countrymen, will hazard a statement to this effect. The Indian States which surely could have done material service towards the improvement of internal trade and industries have remained absolutely indifferent. It is a duty which these rulers owe to their subjects, to India—being themselves Indians; to lead the country on the onward path of economic progress: but alas! instead of progress and prosperity existing among their subjects, there exists complete helplessness, with all free action paralysed under the pernicious system of State dependence, resulting in their utter economic suicide.

If any thing more was needed to hasten the

economic suicide of India, the almost silent commercial invasion of Japanese enterprise in Indian market has effected the complete helplessness of tottering Indian industries and commerce. It was thought that the war would bring golden opportunities for the uplift of Indian industries and commerce by nullifying the element of European competition from Indian markets. But there appears a new and hard competitor carrying the Flag of the Rising Sun from Tokyo, who has completely captured Indian markets. To a keen observer, it may appear a mystery why British Government has freely allowed the Japanese trade to extend itself throughout India. There may be reasons of State to allow Japanese commercial adventurers to plunge themselves headlong in the Indian markets and throw their commercial roots so deep in the Indian soil so as to make Indian people quite powerless to be ever able to uproot them in case of need. But, surely, this action of the British Government is in no way, in the interests of the development of Indian industries and commerce, and as such, it is our first and foremost duty to condemn with one voice this harmful policy pursued by the Government. May I ask what claims Japan can put forth for the over-indulgent treatment its trade receives at the hands of the British Government in India? Is it not a fact that the Japanese people close the doors of their industrial concerns to the Indian students? Is it not about Japanese commercial morality that much has been said of late in England? I declare that it is in no way advantageous to allow bounty-fed goods of Japan an easy entry to Indian ports. I dare say also that this amounts to the clear economic suicide of India and it will take long, very long before the Japanese adventure in India will be unravelled and Indian soil rendered free from the exotic produce of harmful foreign competition.

This survey of the state of Indian industries and commerce, short as it is, is quite sufficient, I believe, to convince my countrymen, of the suicidal nature of the indifference so splendidly displayed by the Government and the inactivity so unfortunately shewn by our people towards the economic development of our country. The Government cannot, in any way, excuse itself of its responsibility for the indifference unparalleled in the history of any civilised government entrusted with the charge of millions of human race. Still less, could the Indians, boasting as they do of their proud heritage of noble traditions of ancient culture and prosperity,

free themselves of the charge of sublime apathy towards their economic interests; more so, if they seriously intend to carry out the ambitious programme of national uplift and assert their proper place in the Empire and the comity of the nations of the world. Their responsibilities are all the more greater in this respect, as the future of India is the palm of their own making. Let the Government do what it thinks best: that is no reason why we should sit with folded hands and await calmly in a pessimistic manner the doom of economic suicide that surely awaits India, if the children of the soil continue to be satisfied with the humble position of hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own land of immense possibilities of economic development.

I now appeal to the higher sense of British statesmanship to grapple successfully with the problem of India's economic development and free India from the shackles of the exploded

system of free trade policy. India should be granted not the mockery of a protective fiscal policy in the form of preferential tariffs within the Empire which will only make India the dumping ground of the colonial commerce in addition to that of the English who already occupy the field. India will rather be willing to continue the present free trade system which at least benefits the Indian consumer than accept this calamity in disguise. This will be simply adding insult to injury. India expects British statesmanship to rise equal to the occasion and meet the Indian situation with a broad outlook.

Finally my appeal to the Indian capitalists to rise equal to the golden opportunities afforded by the present situation and organise industries and commerce; for, there lies the true solution of the economic problem on which depends the political regeneration of India.

THE LATE SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

LORD REAY

In Sir William Wedderburn India loses one of her best friends. He devoted his life to the welfare of His Majesty's subjects in India with absolute disinterestedness. He spared no effort to secure for India what he considered was due to her. To strengthen the ties which bind India to the British Empire, to increase the friendly relations between the various races and British subjects on the basis of reciprocal confidence, was his aim. His memory will be held in respectful veneration by future generations.

LORD ISLINGTON, UNDER SECRETARY FOR INDIA

Even those who were not able to agree with his views were convinced of his sincerity and devotion. The respect which his personality commanded was of great value to Anglo-Indian unity, both as a moderating influence among Indian Nationalists, and as a sign that the aspirations of India were not undeserving of the serious consideration and sympathy of cultured Englishmen. Sir William devoted the greater part of his life, and generously contributed from his own private means, to the welfare and progress of Indians. It is a grave misfortune that more than one of the most respected leaders of progressive Indian policy should have died just at the moment when their counsels were most required.

* These appreciations have been culled from *India*, the organ of the British Congress Committee in London.

LORD SYDENHAM

I only once had the pleasure of meeting Sir William Wedderburn; but no one could fail to be impressed by the earnest desire for the advancement of India, which was the inspiration of his long life.

MR. FREDERIC HARRISON

India—the Empire—all true lovers of justice and right—have suffered what, at this hour of crisis, may seem to many an irreparable loss. Sir William was the highest embodiment of all that has been noble in the British Raj. In the long history of British India, amid all the clouds and storms of complicated issues between European and Asiatic interests, there have been examples of true statesmanship and generous spirits whom both India and Britain can recall with honour. None stand higher than the memory of Sir William Wedderburn, even if any name can be put beside his.

His long life was one unhesitating devotion to the best interests of India and to the best men of Indian race. For sixty years he gave the cause his whole strength, his time, his fortune, his wise intellect, his immense patience, sagacity and courage. His whole life was one of unbounded generosity and unselfish care for others. And his public career was as judicious in practice as it was high-minded in purpose. He taught Indians what England could do for them.

SIR CHARLES E. SCHWANN, BART., M.P.

He was so constant in his love for India, so untiring in his active exertions on her behalf, so wise in his counsel to those who wished to see her advance in the path of political development and progress that his loss seems almost irreparable, following, as it does, so quickly the death of so many doughty warriors in the same field—Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, Gokhale and others. One cannot but regret that these veterans were not permitted to see the new order of things which, we fervently hope, may be established shortly in India. It was an honour and an inspiration to work with Sir William. No man was more sincere, more courteous, more modest. He will be greatly missed for he was greatly loved.

MR. A. MAC CALLUM SCOTT, M. P.

Sir William Wedderburn was "a very praiseworthy knight"—the flower of courtesy, the soul of chivalry, the perfection of honour. He was an aristocrat by race, by breeding and by education. He was a democrat and a Liberal by instinct and by conviction. He held "advanced" views, he held them strongly, and he expressed them fearlessly; he had an unrivalled store of experience and knowledge, but nothing was more characteristic of him than the modesty, the humility, the gentleness and the patience of his bearing. His love for India amounted to a passion. It irradiated all his life.

MR. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M. P.

India has had no friend who served her with greater singleness of purpose or purity of heart, and alas, he is the last of his generation.

MR. BERNARD HOUGHTON

The thoughts of millions, when they enter into their dower of self-government, with its boons of self-respect, of hope and of joy, will recur to the leader who on their behalf battled so long and with such dauntless courage. His name will be enshrined in her Pantheon; his memory in the hearts of the people. Now, in this hour, when she marches forward to assured victory, India turns aside and bows herself with heartfelt sorrow towards that Gloucestershire home.

JUDGE FREDERIC MACKARNES

He won for himself the confidence of Indians in such a way that it has always been a wonder to me that no Secretary of State has cared to make public use of him or to do him public honour. But he will live, as he deserves, in the heart of India. That is what he wished,

MR. J. A. SPENDER

He was the sworn enemy of the theory that the intervention of Parliament in Indian affairs is an unwarranted encroachment upon the official sphere, and he spared himself no pains and faced no little misrepresentation to break it down. In a remarkable way he won the respect and even the affection of the House of Commons, and few men contributed more to the awakening of interest and sympathy which is, I think, the most promising sign in Indian affairs at the present moment.

MR. G. P. GOOCH

Had he not been the most modest of men he might have been tempted to speak with pride of his achievement; for he lived long enough to see his programme of reform accepted, at any rate in principle, by Mr. Montagu in the name of the British Government. His long official experience, his immense knowledge, his deep sympathy with Indian ideals, his gentle nature, his old world courtesy, his statesmanlike moderation—here was a rare and precious combination of qualities for a pioneer. He and Gokhale made a noble pair. The Indian partner in the firm had perhaps a more powerful brain; but Sir William was a shining example of how much can be accomplished by high character and life-long concentration on a single task.

MR. A. G. GARDINER

Sir William Wedderburn impressed me, as I am sure he must have impressed every one who came in contact with him, as one of the most chivalrous men who ever devoted their life to the public service. His affection for India and the Indian people had something in it so deep and personal as to absorb all the fine energies of his character. He represented, I think, the noblest tradition of English thought in regard to English responsibilities. * * *

MR. H. W. NEVINSON

His life was "of a piece," and neither opposition nor passing time could deflect him from his high purpose. To me he has long stood as the typical example of the power to be gained by sheer honesty of character and utterly disinterested devotion to one great cause. Among all who love India, and all who would jealously preserve our own country's reputation for justice, the record of so fine and single-minded a career will be remembered. He has maintained our faith in the excellence possible to humanity, and no one to whom, as to myself, he so ungrudgingly extended the assistance of his knowledge, will forget his wisdom and kindness of heart.

TOPICS FROM PERIODICA

The Black Hole Tragedy

Writing in the current issue of "Bengal Past and Present" Lord Curzon criticises Mr. J. H. Little's views on the Black Hole tragedy with more than necessary warmth. "Had I not read it with my own eyes," writes the Ex-Viceroy, "I should have deemed it impossible that any serious historical student, as I presume that Mr. J. H. Little desired to be considered, should have occupied sixteen pages of print in your valuable journal, in attempting to demonstrate to the world (1) that Holwell's Monument to the Black Hole victims, erected by him outside the Eastern Gate of Old Fort William, never existed save in the imagination of those who designed, saw, or described it: (2) that there was another monument, unseen by human eye and undescribed by human pen, which was erected inside the fort on the site of the Black Hole—notwithstanding that the low room so described remained intact for 50 years after the erection of this hypothetical monument on its site—and that it has been reserved for Mr. Little alone, after the lapse of 157 years, to discover the former existence of this object in the year 1917. I confess that I have little patience with these attempts to rewrite history, in contempt for every rule of evidence, and that I do not admire the labour that is devoted to proving that black is white or that a circle is a square. But in as much as, while I was in India, I was called upon, when erecting a replica of Holwell's pillar on the same site, to make a careful investigation of all the authorities and evidence relating to the original monument, and as Mr. Little has more than once appealed to myself, perhaps you will permit me to marshal the evidence."

Lord Curzon then deals with the evidence. He reviews it at length and concludes:—

"I have now shown by a continuous series of records covering the entire period from 1760, when the monument was erected, till 1821, when

it was taken down, that Holwell's pillar stood, where he himself had it placed, *i.e.*, outside the eastern gate of the Fort, and that for 60 years it was a prominent landmark of Calcutta, described or depicted by over a score of pens or pencils. That anyone should think it worth while to argue that all these witnesses were either impudent fabricators and frauds, painting what was not there and describing what they had not seen, or else the innocent victims of the most astonishing series of optical illusions ever recorded in history would be deemed incredible had not Mr. Little charged himself with the task. With a similar treatment of evidence it would be easy to show a century hence that no such person as Mr. Little had ever existed. Indeed, posterity will be inclined to believe that this was the case, on the double ground that no serious persons could so treat history or travesty research and that contemporary records were silent as to the presence in the first quarter of the twentieth century in Bengal of a superwag of that name. But is not this after all the true and transparent explanation? And has not Mr. Little in his spirited rewriting of history, first about the Black Hole, and now about the Holwell Monument, to use a colloquial phrase, been "pulling the leg" of the Calcutta people during the last two years? Clearly this must be so; no other interpretation fits. On that obvious and unavoidable assumption I conclude with an apology both to him and to the readers of "Bengal: Past and Present" for having taken so seriously one of the brightest "jued esprit" of our time."

Lord Curzon's answer is final and it bears marks of his masterful way of dealing with things. But then it is also final in the sense that Mr. Little who has raised more than one sensation in his researches in Anglo Indian history can no more reply. For he died before Lord Curzon's article saw the light of publicity.

Democracy in Ancient India.

Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya Sastri writes in the current issue of the *Modern Review* that democracy was well rooted in ancient Indian soil, as is evident from its authoritative literature. The writer quotes plentifully from the Buddhist Jataka stories to prove how the democratic idea worked in the Indian mind.

The Vinaya Pitaka from beginning to end clearly shows how the Buddhist brotherhood was governed entirely on democratic principles. One should also mark here in this connection, the act of putting to the vote and deciding by a majority. For giving the reader an idea of the particular procedure adopted, the Pandit quotes the following passages from the Chullavagga as translated into English in the Vinaya Texts, Part III.

"Now at that time the Bhikkhus in Chapter (Samgha) assembled, since they became violent, quarrelsome, and disputatious, and kept on wounding one another with sharp words, were unable to settle the disputed questions (that was brought before them.)

They told this matter to the Blessed One.

"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute *by the vote of the majority*. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as taker of the voting tickets—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear, one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

And thus shall he be appointed.

First the Bhikkhu is to be requested, whether he will undertake the office. Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Samgha, saying.

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting tickets,

"This is the motion.

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. The Samgha appoints a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the tickets. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Bhikkhu of such and such a name being appointed as taker of the tickets, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Bhikkhu of such and such a name is appointed by the Samgha as taker of the voting tickets. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand." (IV. 9.)

"I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours and as each Bhikkhu comes unto him he is to say to him thus: "This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion; this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like" When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't show it to anybody." If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. This, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking the votes.

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each Bhikkhu's ear: "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't tell anybody (which you have voted)." If he ascertains that those, etc., as above. . . . Thus, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes.

"And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of

taking votes? If he ascertains (before-hand) that those whose opinion is in majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. Thus O Bhikkhus is the open method of taking the votes."

The writer then cites the story of the crow and the owl and remarks:—

"The story speaks for itself. It is a very short one, but reveals a very great thing, viz., the belief of the people of India at that time in the strength of the voice of the people as regards the consecration of a king. It clearly indicates the natural bent of the Indian minds towards the democratic idea regarding the government of their country. The Jataka story I have quoted should not be dismissed as a mere fable relating to the lower animals. Democratic methods of electing a king could have been ascribed to the lower animals also only by a writer and among a people perfectly familiar with such methods in the conduct of human affairs."

Indian Nationalism and Missionaries

In a very thoughtful article in the current number of the *East and the West*, the Rev. J. H. Brown observes:—"The most important and significant Indian event in modern times is probably the great movement towards the full recognition of Indian Nationality. Brotherhood, which India has learnt from Christ, is undoubtedly coming to fruition here. We, the exponents of Christ's brotherhood in India, need to be very wise in our attitude towards this great movement. It is something in which we may unfeignedly rejoice and which we may seek with all prayer and patience to help in leading into right channels. During the course of this war the English-speaking races have made such great professions in regard to the liberties of smaller nations that in future we must fully recognise the claims to self-determination of a great nation like India just awakening to her own strength and oneness."

India and the War

The April number of the *Wealth of India* opens with some interesting comments on the proceedings of the recent War Conference at Delhi. The Editor points out that "the recommendations made and the resolutions passed are unexceptionable and if they are given effect to in the spirit in which they ought to be, there is very little ground for thinking that the enemy will ever be successful in any project he may possibly decide on against India."

One fact, he says, stands in bold relief after four years of War. With the collapse of Russia the central powers have begun to make headway. This is due, in the words of the writer, to one "decided advantage" in the German side, and a "positive disadvantage" on the side of the allies:

"Germany and its confederates occupy a solid, compact block in Europe while Britain, her Dominions and her Allies lie scattered at distant places in the various corners of the world. That the sun never sets in the British Empire is no doubt a glory in peace times; but that very fact has proved a source of great weakness in this war. The enemy has fully used this weakness to his advantage and managed to keep the war going for so long. But if he should think of invading India, he will find the position reversed. India is a compact country far away from his home, self-sufficient and bountifully stocked by nature with men and materials necessary for the successful prosecution of war."

But the question is how to marshal all these array of resources in the service of the war. That can be done only by organisation; and organisation "not of the Indian Government type, based on projects, commissions, committees, notes, memoranda, majority recommendations, minority dissents and pompous resolutions, but rapid organisation based on trust and sympathy."

India and the Empire

Under the pen-name of "Maclir," a writer in the May number of *East and West* offers a very thoughtful article on "India and the Empire." He begins by tracing the rapid decline in the belief in Jingoism, and the rampant and aggressive or what he calls the Hun-British type of British Imperialism of which Mr. Chamberlain was the acknowledged high-priest and Rudyard Kipling the student-oracle. A generation brought up under such a tradition could not easily welcome the "confederation free nations," an idea which is now more in vogue. The rapid hold of the idea of federation is primarily due to the reaction against Imperial Jingoism on the one hand and the growth of nationalism in self-governing colonies on the other. The bond of race which was the only bond of Imperial union in mid-Victorian days is now losing much of its eclat value, and the war has revealed new forces stronger and mightier for forging a union not altogether born of mere affinity of racial kinship.

"The weakening of the bond of race was accentuated by the formation of a new self-governing colony, South Africa, the majority of whose people are non-British. It became obvious that racial unity was not an essential condition to the unity of Empire, and this argument was driven home when South Africa not less than Canada or Australia took on the burden of war against the common enemy. Finally, the conditions under which the self-governing Colonies have taken their share in the war in common with Great Britain and her Allies have tended to emphasize not racial unity but racial diversity. It can be safely concluded, therefore, that the influence of a common racial origin in preserving the unity of the Empire has considerably decreased."

And with the growth of free institutions and with a wider and clearer political horizon there will develop a surer and therefore stronger appreciation of the Imperial connection.

"A servile India gives the unwilling obeisance and lip loyalty of the slave, a free India will enhance the strength of the dignity of him who rules it as a free people."

The writer further points out:—

"It is obvious that a weak and discontented India would be a source of danger, and that it is to the interest of Australia and South Africa especially to see that such a danger is avoided. A great self-governing India whether in the form of a single State or of a Confederation of States linked to the other Empire-States by the ties of self-interest and attachment to the Crown will be of primary importance. In view of the present conditions in the East, and of the future possibilities that may be forecasted, it would not be too much to say that such a state is inevitable and essential if the British Empire in the East is to continue to exist.

"That a self-governing India will be morally and materially stronger than the India of to-day has been assumed, and the assumption is warranted not only by the teaching of history but by the policy of the Government of India which places the establishment of popular assemblies amongst the most important evidences of India's progress. It has been also supposed that a free India will be willing to keep up the connection with the British Empire, and this hypothesis can be regarded as invalid only by those who would deny to responsible Indians the average share of common sense. Indian politicians recognise as clearly as any one does on which side their bread is buttered. India will need all the help she can get from the British Empire, and Indians know perfectly well that help and support will be forthcoming in greater measure and on easier terms than it can be had elsewhere. On this ground alone it is absurd to contend that the British Empire will be weakened by the grant of self-government to India.

Municipalities and Social Welfare

An article in the *Social Service Quarterly* for April, advocates the larger undertaking by municipalities of schemes of social and sanitary welfare, and bewails the apathy of our municipal boards. The writer in exacting administrative efficiency would like to see the establishment of a central control over the administration of local bodies in each province and the establishment of municipal ownership of all productive works of public utility. Municipal government in modern Western Europe is "exalting the bacteriologist and the Sanitary Inspector, fostering the kindergarten and the technical school, and inquiring anxiously about the training of the people." The municipality of Paris, which is considered as the typical pioneer of all new methods of social welfare, derives its income from direct taxation, octroi and income from productive departments. It has got a scheme of a central labour exchange, a number of municipal and free libraries, an institution for the advance of rent money to poor tenants, etc. German municipalities have adopted housing schemes of various kinds, convalescent homes for the poorer classes, dispensaries, day-nurseries, forest schools, etc. They do not limit their philanthropy to official efforts, and support all outside agencies and institutions. They assist unemployment by means of insurance funds, provide unskilled out-of-door work for the unemployed and find employment for children leaving schools, for domestic servants, for consumptives and other persons of limited personal capacity. The mental horizon of the Indian municipal politician is limited by drains, building plans and road-making, and it is essential that he should rise superior to his surroundings and up to the highest ideals of municipal government in other States.

At the present stage of Indian municipal development, our efforts are bound to be limited, but there is no reason why they should be half-

hearted. Nor should we be deterred by the presence of easily remediable grievances, like apathy and ignorance in the municipal councillors, or charges of venality in the municipal administration. In England, at the time of the Royal Commission on Local Self-Government in 1835, it was freely admitted that "little was spent on actual municipal duties, and the work that was done was usually inefficient, and always gave rise to jobbery." With the opportunity now made available to municipalities in Western India to make education free and compulsory, it will be possible to evolve a better type of municipal councillor, with a more impartial interest in civic affairs. There are now a larger number of people in India who realise that life is not so much what one can get, but what one can give, that life is "the opportunity to serve." This realisation cannot fail to have its effect on accelerating the growth in India of the civic idea, which demands a keener sense of social equity, which prompts the citizen to be of use to his community, however limited the sphere of his work.

India and Self-Determination

Mr. Harold Spender, writing in the *Contemporary Review*, in referring to India says :—

"Then we are on the eve of a great new settlement of India, completing another of those stages towards Indian self-control which have marked every fifty years of our rule of that vast and sun-scorched land. The task which Lord Morley began, and carried through with such splendid persistency is now being worked out by Mr. Montagu, and will be surely accomplished by him if the fates and winds favour that great enterprise. Every phrase in the great War speeches which reverberate across the seas binds us in India to that self-determination which we are so eloquently and convincingly pressing on others."

Some Aspects of Jewish Nationalism

Zionism has emerged as one of the surprises of the war from comparative obscurity into the sunshine of popular approval and international sanction. There is an elaborate and learned article on this subject in the March number of the *Round Table* which describes the recent work of the Jews in Palestine, estimates the political conditions necessary for a Jewish Palestine and estimates the functions and influence of such a state. It is stated that at the peace settlement after the war, Great Britain will insist on an explicit recognition of the right of the Jewish people to establish there its national home; and this aim accords both with the general spirit of the war-aims of the Allies, with the requirements of Zionism and with a just stable and progressive government in Palestine.

The Jewish love of Palestine is a thing unique in itself; the link between the Jew and Palestine is a national link in the most absolute sense—being entirely independent of any sort of personal connection. It has persisted through centuries of estrangement between the people and the land, and is peculiar in its selflessness and spiritual quality. The Jewish *nationalist* claims that "Palestine for the Jews" means "Palestine for the world," not because he wants Palestine to be anything, but distinctively Jewish, but because he feels that the more distinctively and truly Jewish it is, the greater will be its influence on the world. The conscious Jewish nationalism of modern times, began as a reaction not against persecution or anti-semitic prejudice, but against the tendency to assimilation which set in as a result of the political and social emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe. It was, however, unquestionably the terrible outbreak of persecution and massacre in Russia (1880-81) which gave final direction to the nationalist aspirations that were floating in the air of Jewish national life. While the great tide of Jewish emigration set

towards America from Russia, some of the more idealistic turned towards Palestine, hoping to begin the way to national redemption. By 1895 some twenty colonies had been established in various parts of Palestine, and the first Zionist Congress met in 1897 at Basle.

When the war broke out the movement had the support of some quarter of a million of Jews and the active sympathy of many more, and there was in existence every phase of Jewish national life in Palestine, though only in a miniature scale. Among the political conditions necessary for a Jewish Palestine may be mentioned a few most important (1) the relation between the Jewish people and Palestine must be recognised as the relation between a nation and its national homeland. (This recognition is provided by the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917). (2) The Jewish people are to have complete and unfettered self-expression and must have the utmost freedom in colonising. (3) As a consequence of this, the government of Palestine in the immediate future must be entrusted to a single power and not to a *condominium* or an international commission. The *powers* must not merely content themselves with merely declaring Palestine neutral.

Thus a revived Hebrew nation may occupy Palestine and its services to and influence on humanity will be very large. Its economic development will be fruitful of benefit to the Arabs of Palestine and neighbouring lands as well as of Hedjaz. There is a very real kinship between Jew and Arab, not merely of blood, language and religion, but of joint-work in the diffusion of knowledge. The Jews in Palestine will be creative and not merely imitative, and their creative work will express a spirit subtly compounded of elements from East and West, while in international politics, the Jewish function might fulfil an important function as a court of arbitration.

Recruiting

In a recent issue the *Servant of India* invites the attention of Government to "the various charges in the press and on the platform about the way in which recruiting is being carried on," and says:—

"While one would be loth to give much credence to mere bazaar rumours, we cannot but think that in the present case there is considerable cause for inquiry, as the incidents are in many cases given in great detail. In Sholapur especially the abuses appear to be particularly grievous and call for immediate redress. The Collector of Sholapur is not particularly noted for his conciliatory ways, and perhaps his zeal and that of his subordinates taking their cue from him may have outrun discretion. An authoritative pronouncement from Government is immediately required to pacify the public."

Vegetarianism

In the March *Fortnightly Review* the Hon. and Rev. Alfred Lyttelton writes about food and commonsense. Dr. Lyttelton is himself a vegetarian and he advocates in his article that vegetables and fruit diet is better than meat diet. The concluding portion is interesting reading particularly to those interested in the advance of vegetarianism:—

"But in conclusion, and leaving aside all trivialities, I must dwell on the deadly and indisputable connection between excessive meat-eating and sensuality. We enter now upon a subject where even the flippant tend to forgo joking. If it is a fact that we have here cause and effect let us remind ourselves of what is at stake. It is at least this much; the hope of lessening to some extent the most devastating evil that makes havoc of human life. I do not say the certainty; but the hope and in such a matter we are saved by hope.

"First, then, is there this connection. Most of us know that there is, with a certitude that

requires no confirmation. People will tell you in private their own experiences, doctors testify to it in conversation; an authority like Dr. Pusey, after hearing countless confessions ranked overeating as a stimulus to the passions quite as potent, as excessive drinking. Whatever we may think of the confessional, it is certain that farther—confessors have as intimate first hand knowledge of the particular evidence required *viz.*, that which concerns the effect of excess as testified to by its victims. Added to Pusey we have the consensus of the Christian Church from its earliest days. I find in conversation the fact is not seriously disputed unless the argumentative temper has been stirred, in which case anything may be disputed under the formulæ; No lawyer or man of science would admit the evidence as complete."

But we are not justified in waiting for scientifically complete evidence. . . . In concluding Mr. Lyttelton says:—

"To sum up we vegetarians assert that experience has taught no certain truths of real importance to the general welfare, especially at the present time; and that, if recognised, they would help in removing certain terrible obstacle which now encumber man's ascent to a higher and happier life and that before these truths can be learnt a sinister prejudice against our creed should be allayed."

India's Demand for Self-Government

In the course of an article in the London *Spectator* Mr. Bernard Houghton writes:—

The plain fact, is that nearly all India, without distinction of race or language, or creed is united in a demand for a substantial measure of self-government. The demand is not fictitious. It is not the cry of a few agitators. On the contrary, it springs from the heart of the people, in it their very soul speaks. Merchant, lawyer, shopkeeper, landholder, prince and peasant have alike embraced the cause.

Buddhism and the Needs of To-Day

G. Garratt, writing in a recent number of the *Buddhist Review*, says that Buddhist teaching is so comprehensive that it is impossible for the world to progress to any point beyond which Buddhism cannot help, and that it will not be even possible to say that Buddhism is worn out, because it is rooted on certain fixed principles which can never be altered. Buddhism teaches great principles (1) that what a man deserves, he gets and nothing more; (2) that every action brings its own result in the natural world, in the moral and in the social world; (3) that life is not a baffling riddle, but a wonderful gift which each man may shape as he will, and that man is master of himself and of his fate; and that within himself and nowhere else lies the strength, the power and the will by which he may attain to perfect knowledge. By getting rid of all that is impermanent, the tendency to rebirth is done away; there is no more clinging to physical life and hence physical conditions cannot continue. The Buddha never pretended that the way to *Nirvana* was never easy or simple and that those who would climb it must begin first of all what is called "The Great Struggle against Sin"; and that all men must avoid murder, theft and adultery, lying, slander, abuse and idle talk, covetousness, hatred and error. This provides a scheme of thorough and comprehensive moral regeneration, and salvation can be attained not by prayer or faith, nor by belief or initiation into secrets and mysteries, but by living an upright and worthy life. Buddhism makes man absolutely self-dependent, unlike Christianity. It deprecates emotion which points to want of self-discipline, and tries to secure perfect calmness and mental equipoise. The Buddhist idea of final perfection is far higher than the Christian one; it is an end of all evil, ignorance and illusion, desire, unrest and pain, it is the disappearance of self and separateness and the realisation of universal oneness.

Buddha's message is never to be ignored to-day. He never sanctioned the taking of the life of even the smallest creature, he never approved the use of force and of deeds of violence; and he was essentially the prophet of peace and of boundless charity; and all this is never to be left out of mind in the midst of the din and clamour of the war.

As Buddhists, and therefore also believers in the doctrine of non-resistance, we cannot deplore too deeply the present state of affairs. We have in the Buddhist religion a very high ideal—the highest that, from an ethical standpoint, has ever been placed before the world. If it were not infinitely higher than ourselves, and infinitely removed from the ebb and flow of human passion, it would not be a religion worth the having. We have hitched our wagon to a star, and even amid the inferno of war, we must endeavour to keep before us our ideal. Across the narrow graves of their fallen comrades, East and West may join hands, united in a common suffering, bound together by a common hope that in the age to come the truth the Buddha taught shall gloriously prevail till all have entered into limitless peace.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

THE VERNACULAR LIBRARY OF AN INDIAN MINISTER. By H. Gulliford, ["The International Review of Missions," April, 1918.]

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A. ["The Modern Review," June 1918]

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TEA INDUSTRY IN NORTH EAST INDIA. By Mr. Harold H. Mann. ["Bengal Economic Journal," April, 1918.]

AN ALL-INDIA ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. By Albert J. Saunders, M.A., F.R.E.S., ["The Mysore Economic Journal," April, 1918.]

THE KURALA. By J. S. M. Hooper, M.A. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," April, 1918.]

MUSLIMS AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT. By T. B. Jayat, B.A., (LOND.) ["The Ceylon Muslim Review," May, 1918]

Mr. Montagu's Reforms

Mr. Montagu said in the House of Commons on the 13th instant:—The Viceroy and I have embodied our proposals for carrying out the decision of His Majesty's Government of August in the form of a report to the War Cabinet. It will be remembered that in the August announcement it was stated that ample opportunity would be afforded for public discussion of the proposals, which would be submitted in due course to Parliament. Owing to their heavy pre-occupation with the immediate work of the war, the Government have not yet been able to consider the report and to formulate their conclusions upon the proposals contained in it, but they have decided that it shall be presented to Parliament as soon as sufficient copies are available in India and here, so as to afford the opportunity for public discussion promised in the August announcement, and so that in coming to their final decision the Government may have the advantage of considering any suggestions to which its publication may give rise.

Local Self-Government

The Government of India, Education Department, has issued a long and important resolution indicating the manner in which the Government of India would desire progress to be made along the road of Local Self-Government. The resolution recommends substantial increase in the present elective element among the members of municipalities and rural boards, representation of minorities by nomination, and securing official experience by nomination of officials without the right of voting. As a necessary corollary to increased popularisation of local bodies provision is made for a franchise low enough to obtain constituencies representative of the body of rate-payers. Ordinary municipalities except in special cases are to have elected non-official chairmen, while for large cities the Bombay system of elected chairman with nominated commissioner is

recommended. Local bodies are generally to be allowed to introduce taxes up to a maximum prescribed by law, to have a fresh, and in the preparation of budgets and, except certain specified appointments free control over their employees. Finally, the resolution discusses the Panchayats which it is proposed should deal with village sanitation, village education and have jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases. These recommendations represent the first portion of the three classes of measures foreshadowed in the announcement made by the Viceroy last September, the other two being the greater Indianisation of the services and the constitutional reforms proper.

Mr. K. C. Roy on India's Urgent Need

Mr. K. C. Roy, of the Associated Press, who has just returned to India from England, interviewed by a representative of "The Bombay Chronicle" said:—

"At the present moment London is full of people from all parts of the Empire except India. Go where you will, you will find Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, but you will rarely meet an Indian. India practically occupies at the present moment a back-seat in the parlour of the Empire and if India is to gain her position as an active and worthy partner of the Empire, non-official Indians should be there during the crisis.

"In the reconstruction of party politics it will not do for us to identify ourselves with any special group of politicians, but our leaders should make efforts to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of all. Mr. Baptista has done splendid work in interesting the Labour Party but we want workers in London who will equally win over the Liberals as well as the Unionists. These parties are in process of new formation and the opportunity thus presents itself to educate them on India in a thoroughly practical and business-like way. The opportunity is one that should not be missed."

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Hon. Mr. Sastri on India & the War

The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri delivered the following speech at the recent Delhi Conference.

My Lord, in a few simple graphic words your Excellency depicted to us the imminence of the grave peril not only to the Empire but to India as well in a closer sense than heretofore in the history of the war; that peril is not less than German domination. We all know what that means, it is not merely the spoliation of wealth, it is not merely the destruction of towns, but it is the dishonouring of women. It is further the enslavement of the people, and saddest of sad things, when we become slaves of Germany we would probably be compelled to fight in her armies and be used for the further enslavement of the people of Asia and of Europe. From that great shame and dishonour I have no doubt that the soul of India will rise in revolt. I have no doubt that to your lordship's call the answer will be an enthusiastic and whole hearted rising throughout this country. No words are necessary to bring before our minds how indissolubly, in the words of my countryman the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, the fortunes of India are linked up with those of the British Empire. I am one of those whose faith is inextinguishable in the genius and justice of the British Empire; in spite of lapses and grievous backsliding now and then, in spite of reactionary utterances from authorities, in spite of temporary vacillations of policy, I hold to the faith that behind the institutions of England, embedded in her very genius there is the principle of progress, a principle which must inevitably lead her and those whose fortunes are connected with hers to the attainment of self-determining freedom. In the fulness of that faith, I call upon my countrymen—no, that would be somewhat impertinent, I recall that remark—I record my full faith that all my countrymen will do every thing in their power down to the shedding of their blood if necessary,

in the defence not only of the Empire but in defence of everything that they hold sacred. Your Excellency told us the day before yesterday that in the triumph of England we shall probably see spacious days. I have full faith, as I said before, that when spacious days dawn upon England there is no power either in England or anywhere under the sun that will make the deeds of India narrow and cramping. All that was embodied in the resolution which your Excellency felt bound to overrule, all the aspirations of my countrymen—I make no doubt whatever that they will be realised in their fulness if only the first paramount condition is fulfilled and it is in our power to help that fulfilment. If that condition is fulfilled all else that we hold dear is secured. The duty of everyone in this country is summed up in these words—stand now by the British Empire and your destiny is assured.

Senator Reid on Home-Rule

Senator Reid is reported to have said :—

If the Secretary for India in the Home Government would see his way to granting India Self Government, there would be no need for the Empire to fear Germany, or any Allies which it might get in Europe; because India could supply millions of men if they were required. No conscription would be necessary; the men would be supplied willingly, so long as India was recognised as an integral part of the Empire. * *

They will have to give it (Home-Rule for India), and if it came along now the people of India would rally to the Empire and its Allies, and help to smash Germany for all time. If there is any way of getting Mr. Hughes to the Imperial Council I trust that he will recognise that India is an indispensable part of the Empire. The Senate has passed resolutions that other countries should have Self-Government and Home-Rule. It would probably be wise for us to resolve that India, as a part of the Empire, should be given Self-Government to work out her own salvation.

The Nizam of Hyderabad

What the Nizam did when war broke out, writes the *Westminster Gazette*, was to place the whole resources of his State at the disposal of the Government. As Hyderabad is by far the largest, richest, and most populous of the great feudatory States of India—being three times as large as Bavaria and more than twice as populous—this was a very big offer. The Nizam is the Premier Prince of the Indian Empire, and he maintains a force of nearly 40,000 soldiers, exclusive of the household troops. A large contingent of these was included in the Indian Expeditionary Force which went to France. The dynasty, which is a very ancient one, has always been closely attached to the British power, and the title “our faithful ally the Nizam” was conferred on an ancestor of the present ruler by English writers. At all the most critical times in the history of India—the Mysore wars, the Mahratta wars, the Mutiny—the Nizam of the day rendered invaluable help to Britain, so His Exalted Highness, to give him his latest title, was only carrying out a family tradition.

Native States and I. C. S.

The *London Gazette* announces that it is proposed to alter the regulations for the examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, in order to admit a British subject who or whose father or mother was born outside the Dominions, if at the time of his birth his father was a subject of any State in India and still is or continued to be so until his death. It is intended that the new regulations shall apply to candidates at the open competitive examinations in and after 1919. The alteration is designed to lay down the right of subjects of Indian States to compete as a general right, and obviate the need for formal declarations of eligibility by the Governor-General in Council.

The Rajah of Rutlam

H. H. the Raja of Rutlam, who has just returned to his State from the front, in an interview with the press spoke in warm appreciation of the kindness shown him in the West and specially mentioned the gracious attitude of the King Emperor to himself and the Indian troops. The latter, he said, had done their best and deserved the praise given them, but though India had done much she was capable of doing infinitely more and would exert herself to the utmost if she knew the devastation wrought by the Germans in Belgium and part of France and which the same relentless foe would perpetrate here also if steps were not taken in time to foil him.

Progress in Native States

The Bijapur Provincial Conference passed the following Resolution :—

“That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when the Rulers of Native States in this presidency should follow the example of modern governments and give their subjects political constitutions guaranteeing to them progressive, responsible self-government, and institute immediately elected legislative councils as the first step. This Conference notes with satisfaction the beginning already made in this direction in some Native States in India such as Mysore, Baroda, Travancore, Bikanir, Patiala and lately Bhavnagar, and hopes that they will allow progress to be made in the same direction at a more rapid rate.”

Mysore Representative Assembly

The Mysore Representative Assembly consists of 273 members—250 Hindus, 20 Muhammadans and 3 Europeans. According to occupation, 86 are land holders, 64 village officers, 53 merchants, 36 lawyers, 16 sowcars and 18 of other occupations. Recently the Assembly voted the levy of an income tax for the extension of education in the State.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Mr. Gandhi on Indians in S. Africa

Mr. M. K. Gandhi, writing to the *Times* of India, draws attention to the fresh disabilities imposed on Indians by the Union Government in South Africa by the recent introduction of the railway travelling restrictions. He says: The Indians would have been content if the existing colour prejudice was left to work itself out instead of the Union Government feeding the prejudice by giving legal recognition to the anti-colour campaign. Mr. Gandhi urges that the pending of the War cannot be used as an effective shield to cover fresh wrongs and insults. He appeals to the Englishmen in India along with the Indians to end their valuable support to the movement to redress the wrongs.

He further points out that the Attorney-General has obtained a ruling from the Natal Supreme Court to the effect that the subjects of Indian States are aliens and not British subjects and are not entitled to protection so far as the appeals under a peculiar section of the Immigrants Restriction Act are concerned. Thus if the Local Courts Ruling is correct, a quarter of the Indian settlers in South Africa, who are subjects of the Indian States, will be deprived of security of residence there for which they fought for eight years and which they thought they had won.

Indian Cavalry in France

Indian readers will be glad to note Sir Douglas Haig's warm praise of the Indian cavalry in France in fighting against the enemy. The Field Marshall says the cavalry "rendered most gallant and valuable service" in the defence of Noyelles on the 21st November and the capture of Gauche Wood on the 1st December. "Great gallantry was shown also by the units concerned in the mounted attacks on Killers Guislain." The 1st, 4th and 5th cavalry Divisions, the Ambala Brigade and the Secunderabad Brigade, are also mentioned for good service,

Indian Labour in Fiji

Mr. C. F. Andrews contributes an important article on the above subject to the current number of the *Modern Review*. He points out that 60,000 Indians are at the present moment settled in Fiji, who will very rapidly become the prevailing population of the islands. Some of the questions which have to be faced in connection with the future welfare of the Indian residents in Fiji are, says Mr. Andrews:—"How are these people of a foreign race and climate to become acclimatised? How is their social system, which has broken down, to be built up again? What kind of education will be most suitable for their children? How can all that is best in their religious culture be preserved? In what way will they develop into a community of free and intelligent citizens?" Mr. Andrews' article is devoted mainly to a consideration of the present health conditions. He points out that "by far the most disconcerting fact of all, with regard to the condition of Indians in Fiji is the almost universal prevalence of venereal disease contracted in the 'coolie' lines." Syphilis and gonorrhœa are, he says, rife among the Indian indentured labourers to an extent that is out of all proportion to what is common among the same class of people in the villages of India. In Mr. Andrews' opinion the crux of the problem lies in the excessively low proportion of the women to the men within the crowded coolie 'lines' of Fiji. He quotes departmental statistics which go to show that the proportion of men to women in the coolie 'lines' under indenture is roughly three to one. The only real path of safety, as Mr. Andrews suggests, lies in employing every possible effort, without delay to make feasible a truly normal Indian married life. The thanks of the Indian community are due to Mr. C. F. Andrews for his disinterested and selfless labour for the Indian settlers in Fiji.

Industrial Development of India

Addressing the Society of Arts Lord Lamington, referring to the industrial development of India, said:—Last month that there were tremendous supplies of water for factory power in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency, and suggested that the Government make a complete survey of these and other sources in view of their conversion for mechanical purposes. The Engineer, Mr. Alfred Dickinson, suggested that the Government of India immediately undertake a complete investigation of the possible sources of water-power in India. The information obtained should be available for public use.

Gold Currency

A Gazette of India Extraordinary, issued on the 14th June, published an Ordinance empowering the Government of India to coin gold mohurs or fifteen rupee pieces of the same weight, fineness and dimensions as sovereigns. The new coins will be full legal tender at fifteen rupees each and the intention is to use them in conjunction with notes to enable the Wheat Commissioner to carry out his programme of purchase of wheat in the Punjab. Owing to some delay in the coinage of sovereigns in the branch of Royal Mint recently established in India the coinage of these gold mohurs has been decided on to supplement the rupee stocks of the Government of India.

The Government of India announce their intention to take steps to check the practice of melting gold and silver coins by resorting more freely than they have hitherto done to prosecutions for breach of rules issued in June 1917 prohibiting melting.

They also point out the important service which the public will be rendering towards the prosecution of the war by discontinuing the practice of hoarding or melting gold or silver coin.

Indian Cotton

The *Journal Near East* says two million tons of cotton seed are produced in India annually, of which 200,000 are used for planting and 400,000 are exported. Doubtless a large portion of the remainder is fed direct to cattle, which is an absurdly wasteful proceeding, while a considerable residue must be absolutely wasted. The journal says it is a standing reproach to the commercial and industrial enterprise of India, that at present a natural source of enormous wealth should be practically neglected. If the Bombay seed were defibrated by the latest machinery before shipment, the extra return would be 11s. 8d. per ton, or £ 200,000 annually on the present exports.

Indian Shipbuilding

The *Times* trade supplement has the following: Under Company rule, and more particularly in the 18th century, there was a considerable amount of shipbuilding in India, notably at Bombay, where the industry laid the foundation of the wealth of some of the foremost Parsee families. Vessels constructed in India sailed all the seas and were well-known on the Thames. The industry did not long survive the era of sailing ships, and in living memory has been confined almost entirely to the building of small native craft. To-day the possibilities of a substantial contribution by India to the depleted tonnage of the Allies are recognised, though somewhat tardily. A shipbuilding branch of the Munition Board has been set up; plans have been prepared under the charge of Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor, the Controller, and a beginning has been made with the construction of vessels up to 1,600 tons. The branch is taking over charge of the construction of steel barges for Mesopotamia, as well as the re-erection of barges from plates and angles sent out from this country.

. AGRICULTURAL SECTION

The Kaira Crisis

On the termination of the Passive Resistance movement in the Kaira District a manifesto in the vernacular was issued over the signatures of Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his co-worker, Mr. Vallabhai Patel. The manifesto, after describing the circumstances leading up to the struggle which began on the 22nd March last, expressed satisfaction at its termination and the Collector was thanked for the concession granted to the raiyats. The manifesto states: The orders passed by the Government lacked grace and generosity and have the appearance of being passed with the greatest reluctance. The Collector in a letter said that the orders were issued to all Mamlatdars on the 14th April that no pressure should be put on all those unable to pay. If the raiyats had known them on the 28th April, much suffering would have been saved. Although the official attitude was unsatisfactory the people's prayer having after all been granted, it was their duty to accept the concessions with thankfulness. Now there was only eight per cent. of the assessment remaining unpaid and it was a point of honour with the people of Kaira till now to refuse payment. The manifesto then pays a tribute to the courage, unity, and determination of the men and women of Kaira for the sake of conscience and truth, and concludes that they had truly served their own cause as well as the cause of Swaraj and the Empire.

Rubber and Coffee Cultivations

The Mysore Government have directed that as a rule no land granted for rubber cultivation should be permitted to be used for coffee or cardamom cultivation, though special cases may be reported to the Government for orders. Lands granted for coffee or cardamom cultivation may, however, be used for rubber cultivation, with the permission of the Deputy Commissioner of the District in each case.

Agricultural Value of War Fields

Soil recovery from the effects of modern warfare may be more rapid than has been feared. On the gently sloping and undulating battlefield of the Somme, thousands of acres were devastated in the summer and autumn of 1916, but Capt. A. W. Hill, of Kew Gardens, finds evidence that a fertilising rather than a sterilising influence may result. In the overturn by shell explosions, there was an extraordinary mixing up of soil with subsoil and underlying chalk rock. Except some wooded areas on the highest levels, the region had been cultivated before the war, but practically every living thing was destroyed. Yet a mass of vegetation, found to consist chiefly of annual cornfield weeds, spread all around during last season.—*Popular Science Siftings*.

Mechanical vs. Bullock Power

It is becoming clear, observes the *Wealth of India*, that the substitution of mechanical agencies for bullock power is a prime factor in the economic progress of India. This is specially noticed in connection with the sugar industry, the possibility of the extension of which is governed to a considerable degree by the amount of bullock power at the disposal of the cane growers. The use of machinery for cane crushing has resulted in a greater yield of cane juice being obtained. In these Provinces, as well as in Mysore, various types of power-crushers have also been tried, and are being introduced in suitable places.

Value of Cow-Manure

It has been found by experiments that about 15 tons of manure per cow can be produced a year, but, of course, much of this is lost when cows are working or at pasture. There is also loss of manure by too long exposure. Exposure for five months results in the loss of half its value, and it is recommended that the safest place, in every way, for manure is on the land and that it should be spread as soon as possible.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

471

SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION

Our Duty to India and Indian Illiterates. By Rev. J. Knowles. The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras.

This is a reprint of the pamphlet originally issued by the author in 1910. The author discusses the several causes that have contributed to the low percentage of literates in this country, such as the natural apathy of a tropical population, the grinding poverty of the masses, the agricultural occupation of the people, and the system of caste, and finds in the multiplicity of the indigenous alphabets which are as many as 50 in number one of the chief obstacles to the spread of literacy. Enthusiast that he is, Mr. Knowles thinks that the adoption of a common script for all these 50 languages will greatly facilitate the spread of mass education in this country and save a great deal of time and energy that is now wasted in learning the different scripts.

The Story of Bengali Literature. By Pramatha Chaudhuri. "Weekly Notes" Printing Works, Calcutta.

This is a valuable but brief sketch of the great Bengali literature. The author says that Bengali literature was born in Mahomedan India but is an essentially Hindu literature. He deals briefly with Chandidas and Chaitanya and the Shakta poetry. His description of modern Bengali literature is inadequate probably because of the limitations of the occasion of the address.

Essays in Philosophy. By Syed Abdul Qader, B.A., The Hogarth Press, Madras.

These were written by the author in his undergraduate days but they disclose a keen power of intellectual analysis. His discussion of Bergson's conception of Time shows acuteness and subtlety. But his essay on the *Rig Veda* suffers from that attempt to look through the eyes of Western scholarship which is such a handicap on Indian originality to-day. His essays on the Philosophical Interpretation of History and Omar Khayyam are interesting.

Education of Indian Women in the Punjab. By Gholam Yaseen, Lahore.

This is a reprint of a series of articles originally contributed by the author to the *Tribune*, and is worthy of careful perusal for its critical analysis of the existing situation, the clear presentation of details and the practical programme suggested for achieving the complete literacy of the Punjab women. The author rightly emphasises the need for an effective system which would accomplish the object in a definite period of time and the importance of the establishment of rural educational societies.

Enquiry After God. By Kutbudin Sultan. Messrs. Thompson & Co., Madras.

The author attempts in this book "the restatement of the sacred teachings of the inspired Sufis and Vedantists who devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause of esoteric religion which alone can bind in the near future the East and the West into one common land and establish the religious fraternity of the human race." He gives us a clear and valuable summary of the Sufi doctrines. He is naturally unable to enter into the spiritual truths underlying image-worship but this book is full of true devotion.

Battlewrack. By F. Britten Austin. Hodder and Stoughton, London.

This book consists of stories which are called by the author as "Sketches of Humanity at Strife." It gives vivid sketches of the fights on earth and sea and in air now going on in the West. The story entitled *The Air Scout* is full of that dash and glory of motion which is the chief element of attraction in the fight, of "the nations airy naves" grappling in the central blue." All the stories are well-written and deal with the various theatres of war and the varieties of grim war there.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- May 18. British air crafts brought down 30 enemy machines and drove down 5.
- May 19. British air craft bombed Cologne.
The Bolsheviks have recaptured Baku.
- May 20. London was raided by 20 or 30 enemy air crafts.
- May 21. The Australians have captured Ville-Sur-Ancre.
- May 22. The Germans occupied Bjork on the Gulf of Finland south of Viborg.
The Turks have occupied Sujbulak and Uthnue in Persia.
- May 23. Her Excellency Lady Chelmsford gave an entertainment to non-commissioned officers at the Viceregal Lodge, Simla.
- May 24. Empire Day celebrations.
- May 25. A vernacular paper in Hyderabad (Sind) has been bound over with a cash security of Rs. 2,000.
- May 26. Meeting of the Calcutta Marwaris supports the War Loan.
- May 27. Offensive in Rheims-Soissons Sector.
Allies evacuating Chemin-Desdames.
- May 28. Franco-British counter attacks this morning re-established the line east of Dickebusch Lake.
- May 29. Von Mackensen and his staff arrived in the neighbourhood of Antwerp.
- May 30. Mr. Bhupendranath Basu and Sir P. D. Pattani were entertained in London to-day.
M. Clemenceau narrowly escapes from a surprise attack by Uhlans.
- May 31. German advance towards the Marne.
An Allies-Swedish economic treaty concluded.
- June 1. Heavy fighting in the Marne sector.
- June 2. A great public meeting to inaugurate the Second Indian War Loan was held to-day at Calcutta, H. E. the Governor presiding.
- June 3. Destruction of enemy aeroplanes.
- June 4. Enemy advance in the Ourcq-Marne sector.
- June 5. Nadar Conference at Tinnevely.
- June 6. The Second Bombay Educational Conference met to-day, the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri presiding.
- June 7. Mrs. Besant addressed a crowded meeting under the auspices of the Home Rule League, Bombay, on the Congress League scheme, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah presiding.
- June 8. Americans' daring attack against German divisions in the Chatteau-Thierry sector. Allied retreat from the Ailette.
- June 9. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar and Justice Beachcroft have been appointed to examine cases of detenus in Bengal.
- June 10. At the Bombay War Conference Messrs. Tilak, Kelkar and others retire owing to the attack of the Governor on Home Rulers.
- June 11. The new German offensive on the Noyon-Montdidier front.
- June 12. Sir S. P. Sinha and the Maharaja of Patiala arrived in London to-day.
- June 13. Sir S. P. Sinha is made a K. C. and the Maharaja of Patiala a Major-General.
Beginning of Austro-Italian offensive.
- June 14. Vehement criticism of Sir S. Subramania Iyer's letter to President Wilson by Mr. Montagu, the Secretary of State.
- June 15. Sir Subramania Iyer publishes in the press a statement defending his position.
- June 16. Home Rule meetings in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.
- June 17. Heavy Austrian offensive on the Italian front.
The second meeting of the Imperial War Conference was held in London this morning.
- June 18. Austrians checked in Italy.
Cabinet crisis in Bulgaria.
- June 19. Opening of the new Surat College by Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.
- June 20. A public meeting at Amroati protests against the action of Lord Willingdon re Home Rulers.
- June 21. Conclusion of the Mysore Economic Conference.
Lord Curzon's statement in the Lords re the Irish question.
- June 22. Imperial War Conference. The Premier's tribute to India and the Dominions.

Literary

THE "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN" AND INDIA

The *Manchester Guardian* is the first English paper which has had an article showing a candid and friendly understanding of the Indian Nationalists. In the course of a leading article the following wise passage occurs :

India has done much, but far less than her man-power and her material resources are capable of. The reasons for this disparity are not difficult to unveil. The chief of them was a lack of statesmanlike vision in the Imperial and the Indian Government. The responsibility was not India's. Now, in the acutest hour of the war, the larger understanding has come, and the appeal is made to India to increase her exertions in the common cause. We are confident that the appeal will be answered : but the appeal must in a fuller sense usher in a new phase. The India which is to exert her giant's strength in the cause of national freedom must be looked upon politically as well as militarily with the imagination of bold statesmanship.

THE "PHOENIX" OF KARACHI

Thirty years and more have passed, writes the *New Times* of Karachi, since the *Phoenix* was started ; and its history records the names of some, great in mind and great in heart who laboured for the upliftment of Sind. During all these years the *Phoenix* has maintained its loyalty to the ideal of the National Congress. It strove for the cause of India ; there was a time, indeed, when it suffered and was strong. The dawn has broadened into day ; the national life of Sind enters on a new stage ; and the *Phoenix* is merged in the *New Times* to-day. Freedom is the cause this organ of Indian Nationalism seeks to serve ; and in that service may be justified the faith of men who made the *Phoenix*, years ago, a power in the province.

A GREAT AMERICAN JOURNALIST

The well-known American journalist, Mr. James Gordon Bennet, whose death was announced by Reuter a few days ago, was the proprietor of the great trans-Atlantic daily, the *New York Herald*. Mr. Bennet controlled his paper by cable from Paris where he mostly resided—a strange but not an uncommon thing in American journalism. A London edition of the *New York Herald* was for some time published by him from that city, but was subsequently discontinued in favour of a Paris edition, which is a great success and enjoys a very large circulation. Mr. Bennet was a patron of scientific and adventurous expeditions. It was he who sent to Africa at his expense in 1874 the historic expedition under the late Sir Henry Stanley to find out Livingstone. He also fitted out the Jeannette's Polar Expedition in 1879.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- THE PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY. By H. N. Pherwani, L.M.E Burne Road, Karachi.
 THE UNSEEN WORLD. By Buddhi Cakkhu Dappana, W. E. Bastian & Co., Colombo.
 FOUR DIMENSIONAL VISTAS. By Claude Bragdon, Alfred A. Knoff, New York.
 THE GREEN MIRROR. By Hugh Walpole, Macmillan & Co., London.
 THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI. By James Hope Moulton, Oxford University Press, Bombay.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

- GENERAL REPORT OF THE FORTY-SECOND CONVENTION OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.
 A VINDICATION OF AURANGAZIB. By Sadiq Ali. Published by R. Rahman, 4, Elliott Lane, Calcutta.
 THE SACRED PLACES OF MODERN HINDUISM. By G. Schauzlin, B.A., 52, Tangra Road, Calcutta.
 DIARY OF ANANDA RANGA PILLAI. Vol. VI. Edited by H. Dodwell, M.A., Govt. Press, Madras.

Educational

HON. MR. SASTRY ON NATIONAL EDUCATION

The second Bombay Provincial Educational Conference was held under the auspices of the *Shiksha Vichar Mandal*, Poona, from the 6th to the 8th instant in the Kirloskar Theatre, Poona. Many leading gentlemen and ladies were present, notable among them being the Hon. Mr. Covernton, D. P. I., Bombay, Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, the Hon. Messrs. Paranjpye, Kamat, Upasani, Ramechandraro of Madras, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, and others. Lok. Tilak and Mrs. Besant also came after a time. School-masters were, by the kind permission of the D.P.I., allowed to attend and to read papers on purely educational subjects. Touching the much-discussed problem of national education Mr. Sastry observed in the course of his presidential address :—

“ National education in other countries means universal education. If we take that sense, then the movement now started in India, will not be able to realise this ideal in the absence of resources and other necessary means. The *New India* of the 30th of May has recognised its limitations, and as such I have no hesitation in supporting it. In Japan the Government is not allowed to stamp one ideal over all educational institutions, and Count Okuma has started a National University there also to introduce variety in the system and to fill up the gaps in it left by the Department of Education. None would object to such an aim. National education has however to recognise its limitations. The vast resources of the State alone can enable its devotees to come nearest to that ideal. The interesting experiments of Bolpur and Hardwar have also done much to introduce some variety, in the methods, and as such they are very useful institutions to serve as guides for Government officers.”

A MUHAMMADAN M. A. IN SANSKRIT

Among the successful candidates in the last M.A. Examination in Sanskrit of the Allahabad University, there is a Muhammadan gentleman. He is Khan Sahib Abdul Aziz Khan, lately Oriental Translator to the Central Provinces Government. The Khan Sahib has taken his M. A. degree in Sanskrit in the *Dharma Sastra* and *Mimamsa* group, a particularly abstruse and difficult branch of ancient Hindu knowledge. This is the first time that a Muhammadan gentleman takes his M. A. degree in Sanskrit from the Allahabad University.

A SPECIAL CHAIR IN HINDU UNIVERSITY

The Maharaja of Patiala has sanctioned a contribution of Rs. 5 lakhs to the general funds of the Hindu University and in addition thereto, an annual grant of Rs. 24,000 for the establishment of special chairs for electrical and mechanical engineering.

BOMBAY PRIMARY EDUCATION ACT

Draft rules issued in connection with the Bombay Primary Education (District Municipalities) Act recently passed by the Legislative Council contain, among others, the following provisions:

Each municipality, desiring to avail itself of the Act, shall take the census of children liable for education within its area and appoint an Attendance Committee consisting of two members of the School Committee, one of whom to be a paid officer designated “ Special Attendance Officer,” whose function it will be to take census of children liable for education under the Act and effect its enforcement in case of failure of parents to cause their children’s attendance. The rules also provide the retension of unqualified teachers in the employment at the time of introduction of compulsion. The Government will bear half the expenditure incurred by the Municipality for providing free and compulsory education. In special cases only the Government may decide to make a larger grant.

Legal

MR. GANDHI ON GAOL EXPERIENCES

A correspondent, writing from Nadiad, the headquarters of Kaira district, reported on June 11, that Mr. Pandiya, a co-worker of Mr. Gandhi and a leader of the movement, along with five others, were prosecuted and tried by the Magistrate and Collector of the district on a charge of theft in having removed onions from a field which was notified as forfeited to Government for failure of payment of revenue assessment due. At Mr. Gandhi's request the case was transferred to the Collector's Court and in his evidence Mr. Gandhi stated that the onions were removed at his request and he was himself solely responsible for the action. No defence was put forward and no witnesses cross-examined. The Collector passed orders sentencing four of the accused persons to 20 days' and two to 10 days' simple imprisonment.

After the case was over Mr. Gandhi, addressing the assembled crowd outside the court, said that *satyagrahi* would be truly comprehended only by a gaol experience. For one's own conscience it was an occasion when those present ought to feel that they were really unfortunate unlike their brothers who were going to do pilgrimage to gaol. The responsibility of their action was his and if any mistake had been committed it was his. But he felt sure he was not wrong. There could be no imprisonment for such a theft of onions and any impartial judge with legal knowledge would have said that the facts in this case could not constitute an offence. No appeal was to be filed since, according to Mr. Gandhi, the best thing for *satyagrahi* was to perform a penance in gaol. He urged his audience not to allow this incident to embitter their feelings and that they should not put up any defences in two other pending cases and should prefer to suffer imprisonment since it was his firm conviction that this was the surest means of elevating the country.

POWERS OF SPECIAL TRIBUNALS

The Full Bench of the Patna High Court delivered judgment on June 4, in the matter of the Defence of India Act in which the petitioner asked the High Court to exercise their powers of superintendence over special tribunals. All three Judges delivered separate but concurring judgments, holding that the High Court had no power to interfere, and discharged the rule.

The Chief Justice observed that he was unable to discover any ambiguity in the wording of the section of the Act and he was unable to find any expressed or implied intention of the Legislature to confer on the High Court powers of superintendence over these courts. It was quite clearly expressed by the Act that the judgment of these courts should be final and conclusive, and in his opinion the wording of the Act was incapable of any other construction. His Lordship then discussed at length the powers of the Governor-General-in-Council to create courts not subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court.

The Court also held that rules framed by a local Government under the Act were not *ultra vires*, but were valid. The petition was accordingly rejected.

JAIL ADMINISTRATION IN MADRAS

A Government resolution reviewing the report on the administration of jails in the Madras Presidency for 1917 shows a further decrease in the number of juvenile offenders committed to jail which in the case of girls is considerable. Government note with concern a steady increase in sickness and mortality and request the Inspector General of Prisons to give this matter his special attention while inspecting such jails as have shown unsatisfactory statistics.

MUSLIM BARRISTER PREVENTED FROM SPEAKING

The Chief Commissioner has directed Mr. Asfali, Barrister-at-Law, Delhi, under the Defence of India Act, to refrain from addressing public meetings until further orders.

Medical

BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN BRITISH INDIA

According to a press note recently issued by the Department of Statistics the total number of births in British India fell from 721,825 in 1915 to 856,283 in 1916. This represents a birth-rate of 37·13 per thousand of population. Delhi recorded the highest birth rate 49·39, followed by the Punjab 45·6, the Central Provinces and Berar 43·85, and the United Provinces 43·09. All the other major provinces had a birth-rate below 40 but over 30 per mille.

The total number of deaths in British India fell from 7,142,412, in 1915 to 6,940,436 in 1916; or from 29·94 to 29·1 per thousand population. Of the major provinces Bombay and the Central Provinces and Behar reported increased rates as compared with the preceding year. The increase in the rate of mortality in Bombay (from 26·12 to 33·32) was due to a comparatively severe outbreak of plague in that province, and that in the Central Provinces (35·91-36·29) to cholera, plague, and malaria. There was a noticeable decrease in the death rate of Bengal (from 32·83 to 27·37) and in that of the Punjab (from 36·3 to 30·7), this satisfactory result being due to the general healthiness of the year in Bengal, and to the lessened incidence of cholera and plague in the Punjab. Of the total deaths (6,940,436), 4,085,784 were due to fevers, 288,047 to cholera, 266,247 to respiratory diseases, 248,381 to dysentery and diarrhoea, 205,527 to plague, and 60,642 to small-pox.

The infantile mortality rates were 209·40 per thousand births for males and 194·77 for females, or a combined infantile mortality rate of not less than 202·6; the corresponding figures for 1915, were 208·06 and 195·29, or a combined infantile mortality rate of 201·9. The average rate of the

last 10 years (1907-1916) is 200·7. As usual the Central Provinces and Berar occupies the first place in infantile mortality rates—265·3 per thousand birth and United Provinces stands second with 209·7, followed by Burma with 206·3, Assam with 202·0, the Punjab with 200·2, Bombay with 199·6, Bengal with 195·4, Behar and Orissa with 190·7, and Madras with 182·8. It is interesting in this connection to compare the infantile mortality rates in the United Kingdom. The rates in 1916 were:—England and Wales, 91, Scotland 97 and Ireland 83.

ALL-INDIA AYURVEDIC AND TIBBI CONFERENCE

The eighth session of the All-India Ayurvedic and Unani Tibbi Conference was held at Bombay on May 17, the Hon. Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy presiding. Besides Mr. Syed Mohamed Yusuf, the chairman of the reception committee, among those present were His Highness the Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior, Hezequl Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi and many others. Sir Fazalbhoy in his presidential address referred to the usefulness of the conference and said he felt sure that Government would be ready to give a sympathetic hearing to any suggestions for the reform of the Medical Registration Act if it was properly represented to them that the measure was calculated to strike at the root of Indian medical science. He warned them that it was not enough to move Government for the amendment of the Act and make no effort on their own part for improving the standard of the education of the practitioners of the indigenous systems of medicine. The president advised them to give instructions in Indian medicine on modern lines and extend the organization of medical relief so as to bring it within the reach of the poorest people.

Science

SENSES OF THE BLIND

. The impression that the remaining senses in the blind have unusual development is not accepted by Dr. J. Ioteyko, formerly of the University of Brussels. He finds only ordinary acuteness of touch and hearing, but there is a greater degree of sense attention, and a more persistent and faithful sense memory. This explains the superiority these senses may show. Blind persons of great intellect and will, aided by adequate education may, however, acquire a special sense development unknown to the seeing.

FRENCH SUBMARINE

A *Morning Post* correspondent describes a French submarine, whose ventilation has been perfected to such an extent that it is even possible to smoke. "The officer of the port told me," says the writer, "that on one occasion when he visited the submarine it had been kept under water for a long time for experimental purposes. Officers and men had been allowed to smoke. Oxygen was supplied to the vessel by the usual methods (chemically), and the various gases of respiration and tobacco smoke were all thoroughly absorbed by the chemicals used. He found to his surprise when the vessel emerged that it was impossible to tell that anyone had been smoking in her."

RESEARCH WORK AND APPLIED SCIENCE

The presidential address delivered to the Röntgen Society on November 6, 1917, by Captain G. W. C. Kaye, which is reported in a recent issue of *Nature*, refers to the important use made of X-rays in military hospitals during the war. In concluding, the President emphasized the value of applied science to industry which, he said, was now thoroughly accepted by the British public; and British industry should begin to feel the benefit, especially now that the principle of State-aided research has been established.

ECONOMY OF ELECTRIC HEATERS

While electric heating on a large scale is not usually economical, it is claimed that electric air heaters to supplement furnace or steam heating systems are showing material saving in coal. These heaters are portable, of various shapes and sizes, and can be quickly placed in outbuildings, signal towers, exposed corners or rooms, or in any other place where a little extra heat is needed. Being under perfect control, the heat is used efficiently.

ELECTRIC LAMPS

Deterioration of electric lighting systems is noted as a real risk to the eyesight. When the lights are installed, the requirements are carefully calculated and a maximum lighting very little above the actual needs is provided. This supply is liable to become greatly reduced. After the number of hours determined for the life of a lamp, the energy consumption increases and the quality of the light is affected. Besides this, dirt has an unappreciated effect. In factories with uncleaned bulbs the loss of light has been shown to be one-half, while a scarcely perceptible dust film on the glass lessens the efficiency 20 per cent. Occasional inspection of home lights, as well as those of the factory, is advised as a safeguard against eye-strain.

PHOTOGRAPHING THE VOICE

In the last of his Christmas lectures to juveniles at the Royal Institution, London, Professor J. A. Fleming explained that by an invention of his own the vibration of the human voice upon the diaphragm of a telephone receiver, or on a phonograph record, could be visually reproduced and shown on the lantern screen. By an apparatus connected with the motor of a gramophone he could cause the voice to make rays of light which by being reflected upon a circulating mirror were shown on the screen as a circle of light vibrating in accordance with the "waves" of the voice. "My invention," he said, "makes it possible to photograph the waves of the human voice."

Personal

JOSEPH CAILLAUX

Joseph Caillaux, former Premier of France, was arrested in Paris on January 14, 1918, and taken to the common prison known as La Sante. The event created an enormous sensation, and was regarded throughout the world as the most important act thus far in the vigorous war policy of the new Premier, M. Clemenceau, who had once served as Foreign Minister in Caillaux's Cabinet. The arrest, we are told, was due in part to a cablegram from Mr. Lansing, American Secretary of State, furnishing evidence that as far back as 1915 M. Caillaux had been in secret communication with the Berlin Foreign Office.

Caillaux's political career had come to an end immediately after his wife, on March 10, 1914, had entered the office of the Paris *Figaro* and shot and killed the editor, Gaston Calmette. The sensational trial which followed, and which was said to mark the lowest point of political morals in modern France, ended in the acquittal of Mme. Caillaux. The great social and financial influence of M. Caillaux continued unbroken. He went into the war as an officer in the Paymaster's department, but within two months he had given grave offence of some kind to both the British and French commands, and was punished by two weeks' confinement in a fortress. Soon, after his release, in November, 1914, he sailed for South America and spent most of the winter in Argentina.

It was believed at the time that he was there on a mission for the French Government, as the possibility of the existence of a pro-German Frenchman had not yet dawned upon the mind of France. Even three years later, when the United States revealed the intercepted dispatches of Ambassador von Bernstorff regarding Caillaux's activities in Argentina, their nature was a sur-

prise. While these dispatches were not conclusive in themselves, they appeared to indicate that Caillaux was at that time in connection with the Berlin Foreign Office through Count Luxburg, the German Minister at Buenos Aires with the object of concluding peace at any price, so as to permit the resumption of his business enterprises.

M. Caillaux's close relations with German diplomatists in 1915 remained unknown to the world, and he returned to France to resume his work in the Chamber of Deputies, where he had a considerable following. The true nature of his anti-war activities did not become a subject of full-fledged public suspicion until his visit to Italy in December 1916. The French Ambassador at Rome then communicated to M. Briand, Prime Minister, the fact that M. Caillaux was carrying on an active pacifist propaganda among the Italian Government officials and at the Vatican. M. Briand telegraphed that the Italian Government should feel "absolutely free to act as it sees fit in order to put an end to these intrigues."

These dispatches were not given to the French public until the subterranean doings of M. Caillaux had continued another year. In the summer of 1917 the intrigues of Bolo went on until his arrest in September.

Gradually Caillaux's presumptive connection with all these disloyal activities began to be apparent and M. Clemenceau came into power because he was believed to be the man to save France from the poison of German intrigue and the peril of defeat. A resolution to deprive M. Caillaux of his parliamentary immunity and place him on trial for high treason was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies, and on December 22, 1917, it was finally passed by a vote of 417 to 2, amid scenes of intense public interest. A similar resolution was adopted with regard to Deputy Louis Loustalot. The vote against Caillaux was almost unanimous. And Caillaux who has outwitted Bolo himself in Boloism shared the fate of his colleague in misdeemeanour, the notorious Bolo Pasha.

Political

THE SERVANT OF INDIA SOCIETY

The thirteenth anniversary of the Foundation-Day of the Servant of India Society, which fell on the 12th instant, was attended by almost all members of the Society and a few friends, Mahatma Gandhi, Hon. Messrs. Ramachandra Rao and Paranjpye, Rao Bahadurs Kolhatkar and Mundle and Mr. S. M. V. Joshi, of Nagpur, being among them. Almost the whole day was taken up by the members giving an account of their work during the year, and at night the President, the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, delivered an address on the "Present Political Situation." Mr. Sastri was elected President of the Society for three years. The question of filling that office for a further period came up before the General Body at the time of the anniversary, and on the motion of Mr. H. N. Kunzru, the senior member of the Upper India Branch, Mr. Sastri was unanimously elected President for another three years. Mr. Kunzru had at Mr. Sastri's urgent and earnest appeal to reluctantly withdraw his original proposition making Mr. Sastri's election as the first member for life.

NATIONAL LIBERAL LEAGUE

Prominent moderate leaders in Bengal have founded a new political organisation called National Liberal League, its object being the attainment of Responsible Government by India as an integral part of the British Empire in the quickest possible time by methodical and ordered progress, this object to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a speedy reform of the existing system of administration and by promoting the National unity. The prominent members of the League are: The Maharaja of Cossimbazaar, the Raja of Dighapatia, Sir S. C. Mitter, Sir R. N. Muckerjee, Mr. R. D. Mehta, Mr. Prithwis Chunder Roy and others.

IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

An official statement published in London gives the names of the following attending the forthcoming Imperial War Cabinet and War Conference meetings:—

Canada:—Sir R. Borden, Mr. Meighan, Minister of Interior, Mr. Calder, Minister of Immigration and Mr. Rowell, President of Privy Council.

Australia:—Premier Hughes, Joseph Cook, Navy Minister.

New Zealand:—Mr. Massey and Sir Joseph Ward, Finance Minister.

South Africa.—General Smuts and Burton, Minister for Railways.

Newfoundland.—Prime Minister Lloyd.

India.—E. S. Montagu and Sir Satyendra Sinha.

The Maharajah of Patiala will attend the War Conference.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Bombay Government has appointed a Committee, consisting of four European and seven Indian gentlemen, to examine and report upon questions relating to local self-government. The Committee is asked to state what the basis should be for electoral franchise in municipal and local board elections, how the appointments of executive officers should be made—that is whether directly by the bodies under whom they will have to serve, or by Government—and thirdly whether Municipal Commissioners be retained in the municipality and if so whether their position or powers require to be modified.

DR. NAIR'S PASSPORT

The Madras Government in the course of a *communiqué* published on the 10th instant regarding the circumstances in which a passport was issued to Dr. T. M. Nair point out that the passport was issued in the ordinary course last March and in accordance with the orders then in force. Government were also perfectly satisfied with the medical certificate produced by Dr. Nair and, lastly, Government decline to publish the medical certificate.

General

BOLO PASHA

Bolo Pasha was the son of a poor clerk in Marseilles, whose meagre pay, insufficient even for the modest family needs was eked out by the fees of a girls' school kept by Bolo's sister.

At the age of nineteen, observes the well-informed Captain Bouchardon in the *Times*, Bolo became a dentist at Marseilles. He then successively became a colonial grocer, a lobster merchant, and a restaurant keeper. In these undertakings he ruined his partner, and ran off with his partner's wife to Spain. Five years afterwards he was back in Paris, running a vague business which eventually ended in his getting a sentence of a month's imprisonment. The next trace of him is at Hendaye, on the Spanish frontier, where, according to the indictment, he robbed the niece of his hotel-keeper of her dowry. In 1893 he is found at Bordeaux. There, we are told, he made the acquaintance of his first wife, who is among the witnesses—Mlle. Soumaille—conquered her with his silken moustaches and fondling eye, and vanished with her to Buenos Aires, where she played at a music hall. It was at that time that the prisoner called himself by, in fact signed his wife's contract with, the name of Bolo de Grange-Neuve. Shortly afterwards he was arrested at Valparaiso, and his wife gave up all she possessed to give bail for him. He displayed his gratitude by abandoning her immediately he regained his freedom.

The state of Bolo's finances at the beginning of the war was presented thus by Captain Bouchardon:—

"By the losses sustained by Bolo in his commercial transactions and by the heavy expenses of his household, the initial capital of his wife had been reduced by no less than £88,720. All he had at the beginning of the war was, some shares which paid no dividend and had no market

on the Exchange, and he was reduced to an income of £1,880, produced by the solid investments of his wife."

Bolo's defence consisted in declaring that all his fortune at that moment was deposited at the banks of Meyer and Behrens, in Antwerp and Hamburg. But in documents which have been seized at Bolo's house there is no trace whatever of any account showing that he possessed any deposit in these banks.

"Bolo's position," continued Captain Bouchardon, "was most critical. His coffers were empty. How could he repair his fallen fortunes, how hide the truth from his friends? How could he, on the ruins of his fortune, erect a monument of gold? Herr von Jagow gave him the means to do so." After the Marne, Germany, realizing that her plan of a sudden attack failed, wished to enter into closer relations with France in order later to turn against England and conquer England with greater ease. But the first thing that was necessary was to prepare opinion in France, so that it would accept the idea of a separate peace. Documents in the case show that in order to obtain this result the enemy was ready to make really big sacrifices of money. The enemy wanted at the same time to act upon the French Press.

In that sublime tragedy he saw nothing but a chance to enrich himself. So began that extraordinary series of dabbling in forbidden things, in which the Khedive, Egyptian pasha, Parisian actresses, Italian deputies, journalists, business men, and adventurers of a lesser grade than himself, played a part. All his projects for demobilising the French Press came to naught, and the coarse-fingered German diplomats showed Teutonic finesse, great working power, elaborate organisation, and mechanical intelligence in carrying out a stupid plan; for they lost millions in backing Bolo.

And with what result? The French people are in no humour for frivolous amusements at a time when the fate of France is hanging in a balance. Bolo has been condemned and hanged. And he is remembered as a warning to treason-mongers.

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THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN,

MY first impressions of the scheme formed after a cursory glance of the proposals have been but strengthened by a careful study of the Report and by the criticisms passed on it by leading congressmen and other publicists. The Report is a historic and unique document; in it we have a profound and highly instructive analysis of Indian conditions; a faithful interpretation of Indian national sentiments and aspirations and an undoubted condemnation of the present bureaucratic methods of administration. No higher compliment could be paid to the authors of the joint Report than that given by the *Mahratta*, Mr. Tilak's English organ:

"It bristles with admissions against the Government which would be the delight of the nationalist; * * the report is a complete vindication of the Indian advocates of Self Government for India."

The authors deserve the thanks of the country for the honest and sincere attempt they have made to lift India onwards to the goal of responsible Government. I feel that when the storm and dust of controversy is over even the few adverse critics of the Report will give Mr. Montagu a place among the small band of noble Britishers who have laboured for the good of India.

Certainly those who had the privilege of lengthy discussions with Mr. Montagu on Indian affairs when he came here six years ago to study Indian conditions and again during his last visit would have expected a bolder and a more liberal scheme of Reforms than that sketched out by the joint Report. But critics who take Mr. Montagu to task for the too cautious and halting character of his proposals should remember that an advanced scheme of constitutional reforms for India without the support of the Viceroy and with the authority of the Secretary of State only

has, under any circumstances and especially at the present juncture when Parliament is engrossed in focussing its attention on the successful issue of the war, little or no chance of passing through Parliament. It is of great advantage therefore to the Indian cause that the reforms have the support of the chief man on the spot, H. E. the Viceroy, and the general approval of the members of the Councils of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and of the party that formed Mr. Montagu's mission.

As a Congressman, I should have been in common with others more happy indeed if the Congress League Scheme had found favour with the authors of the Report as a whole. But I must say that despite the defects and shortcomings of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals Congressmen have every reason to rejoice that several proposals and measures of reform which they have been urging for years have at last been definitely recommended for adoption. Twenty years ago the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee bemoaned before a public audience in England that under the present system of administration the Government of India was an irresponsible body, responsible neither to the people nor to Parliament to which it was theoretically supposed to account. It has always been recognised as nothing short of a scandal that the affairs of India with its 300 millions of population and its illimitable resources and possibilities should every year receive only a few hours attention on some day at the far end of a Session during a so-called discussion of the Indian budget and often before practically empty houses. Congressmen therefore have every reason to welcome the proposal to place the salary of the Secretary of State on the Home Revenues and have it voted annually as it will enable any live question of Indian Administration to be discussed by the

House of Commons in a more satisfactory fashion than at present. Further the institution of periodical Parliamentary Commissions of enquiry, a revival of the good old practice in vogue at the time of the administration of India by the East India Company, will, among other things, put the Indian bureaucracy on guard against any attempts at maladministration. More than all, the proposal to ask the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee on Indian affairs—for which the voice of the venerable Sir William Wedderburn was often lifted in vain—is bound to be of especial value as the House of Commons will then be kept better informed on Indian questions and the official version would have less easy opportunities of passing muster before an ignorant and an uninformed assembly.

The Congress has been asking for a number of years for Council Government in all the Provinces, for an increase of the Indian element in the Executive Councils, for enlarged Legislative Councils returned by direct election on a territorial basis and on a franchise to be as broad as possible, for a complete separation of Imperial and Provincial revenues, for doing away with the present system of "divided head," for fixed contributions by Provincial Governments to the Government of India, and for the financial Legislative and Administrative independence of the Provinces though subject to certain limitations. In regard to all these the new scheme certainly concedes the spirit of the Congress demands though not exactly in the manner asked for. For a long time past we have been demanding for the Legislative Councils power to modify their rules for a more effective use of the power of interpellations coupled with the right of supplementary questions. In regard to the Budget for years we have been insisting on the right to alter the whole budget in accordance with the Resolutions that may be passed by the Councils. In so far as this request has been conceded in the case of Provincial Councils subject to the Governor's right to restore an allotment on a reserved subject, a power which in the nature of things will be very cautiously and sparingly exercised, the popular demand has been met. It would be well to remember in this connection that the "budget will be considered by the whole Government acting together," that in the allotments for reserved and transferred subjects 'the predominant voice will be Indian' exclusive of the Governor, and that the resolution of a provincial legislative council

(on the budget) including transferred as well as all uncertificated reserved items, will be binding on the Government. The whole procedure prescribed for the framing and discussion of the budget is calculated to make the popular voice prevail as a general rule."

The country has been complaining for years that Lord Ripon's pious intentions with regard to the development of Local Self-Government as an instrument of popular education have been a dead letter. The Report distinctly provides for complete popular control in local bodies. Those who have been deploring the passing away of the Panchayat system in the villages will be gratified to find the provisions made for their full development. The existence of racial bars against the employment of Indians in the higher services and the very small number of appointments thrown open to them have been rightly a standing source of irritation. The bar sinister is now to be removed. The provisions in the scheme do recognise our claims though every effort must still be made to see that the Indian element in the Civil Service should be raised to at least 50 per cent.

The proposals made for the appointment of Standing Committees and of Under-Secretaries of State corresponding to those of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in England are certainly innovations in the right direction. Surely the satisfaction as above stated of several of these long standing demands of the Congress ought to make us pause before crying for the rejection of the reforms. Some of these proposals despite the needless checks they impose which it must be our endeavour to do away with undoubtedly constitute a distinct advance on the present conditions; and under the proposed scheme the popular voice will be more real and effective than it is at present. The authors themselves say that the arrangements contemplated by their proposals are transitional, and open to revision; and they invite discussion. Surely, when one remembers that under the existing conditions there is little or no chance for a private member to introduce and carry, successfully through Parliament a measure of constitutional reforms fashioned after the will of the people especially when the Empire is facing a crisis of the greatest magnitude when some of the very people who now counsel rejection of the scheme have been times without number complaining that the angle of vision has

not changed even during the war, and that the prospects of real reform in Indian administration after the war are highly problematical, and with the persistent and unscrupulous agitation carried on both in England and in India even against these modest proposals, it will be nothing short of political suicide to let slip this great opportunity. We have also to remember that we have very few friends in the British democracy to stand by our cause and when our good friends such as the members of the British committee of the congress, Mr. Charles Roberts, Sir Herbert Roberts, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Commander Wedgwood, Mr. H. E. Cotton, Mr. H. S. L. Polak and others strongly counsel us to accept the scheme, and warn us against the "peril of rejection", the path of wisdom lies not in rejecting the scheme but in pressing for the deletion of the objectionable features of the scheme and insisting on the incorporation into it of the features of the Congress League Scheme for which the country has been justly agitating.

With the definite announcement made in the House of Commons that a Bill on the lines of the proposals is in preparation and with the information before us that the Committees referred to in the Report may be formed even in advance it is time that we recognise the only feasible alternative *viz.* that we formulate our suggestions and modifications for improving the scheme now on hand so that we may make the best of the present situation. Taking the scheme then as the basis for discussion I would in the terms of the manifesto issued by Sir Sivaswami Aiyar and others suggest *inter alia* :—

The procedure of certification by the Governor-General being restricted to cases where the interests of peace and order may require it (2) the control over the customs and tariff being fully vested in the central Legislature (3) the Budget being voted upon by the Legislature excepting what may be required for the Army and Navy and the vested interests of the existing services and (4) a larger Indian element in the Executive Council of the Government of India. As regards the Provincial Governments, the transferred subjects should comprise all except Law, Justice and the Police and the transfer of the latter from the head of reserved subjects should be made as a matter of course, after a fixed period, unless it is proved to the satisfaction of the Royal Commission to be appointed under the scheme suggested by the Report that such a transfer is undesirable in the public interest. The amount that may, as of right, be insisted upon for allotment to the reserved departments should be on the basis of the pre-war expenditure on those departments and any further amount that may be required should be voted upon and raised by means of bills passed by the Legislative Councils as in the case of any extra money required

on account of the transferred departments, and the Governor should not have the power to insist on the whole or any part of the allotment originally provided by certifying its necessity. The appointment of the Provincial contributions to the Imperial expenditure proceeds on wrong principles and in the case of Madras perpetuates a manifest injustice. There is no adequate justification for the proposal to appoint members without portfolios from among high officials for purposes of consultation and advice. We are convinced that it is bound to more than neutralise any advantages to be expected from the presence of the Indian element in the Executive Councils of the Provincial Governments. The proportion of the representatives of the Mussalman Community as fixed in the Congress-League scheme should be adhered to.

There is considerable force too in the criticism of several of our eminent public men that the idea of the Council of State should be given up, as "it is on the whole a discredited device ill-calculated to serve a useful purpose in the constitutional development of India on smooth and harmonious lines." There are many other items in the scheme which, to use the expression of the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, are "in some measure open to the hazards of bureaucratic jealousy."

In view of the exigencies of the present situation I feel too that the Congress and the Moslem League should immediately make a demand on the authorities for permitting its chosen representatives to proceed forthwith to England on deputation to place before the British public the defects and shortcomings of the scheme and to urge for the incorporation of the country's constructive proposals. I would also specially urge the deputation to place before the British democracy the great disappointment created in the minds of the Indian people by the scepticism of the capacity of the Indian people to govern themselves and the nervousness of their attitude towards the British Government that the Report betrays. More than anything else the people's representatives should be specially charged to make an emphatic refutation of the assumption in the Report that the real guardians of the masses of India are the Bureaucracy and not the natural leaders of the people.

Our representatives must also insist that, where the interests of India and England conflict, those of India should not be subordinated to those of England. It is well to remember what John Bright was never tired of repeating both in and out of Parliament, that "the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India."

II. DEWAN BAHADUR GOVINDARAGAVA AIYAR

As is to be expected, the Reform proposals of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India and His Excellency the Viceroy have met with a very mixed reception. The fidelity to facts and the thoroughness of grasp of the problems to be solved that the Report reveals and the high authority of its authors invests it with the character of a historic document. The Report bears in an unmistakable manner the impression of the earnestness of purpose, the high sense of responsibility and the sincerity of intention with which the investigation into the present political situation of India was undertaken and the proposals consequent thereon have been made. The material relating to the present situation and the conditions of the problem have been set forth with an apparent freedom from prepossessions to which even the most carping critic of the Government and its ways can have no objection. The justification as made out in the Report for a change in the existing constitution cannot be improved upon. Wherever it is felt that the British Administration is responsible for the existing defects, that fact is freely admitted. It is however to be regretted that there has not been the same readiness and frankness in recognising the responsibility of the British Administration for the present incapacity of Indians to defend their own country and of the unwisdom of the policy pursued towards them in that connection. When one turns however to the proposals embodied in the Report one cannot speak with the same enthusiasm and grateful appreciation as of part I of the Report. It is due to the authors of the Report to acknowledge that though in some respects the proposals will have the effect of increasing the power of the heads of Central and Provincial Governments, the proposals as a whole mark a perceptible advance over the present system and will have the effect of enabling the people to have their voice felt in the administration of the country and its advancement in a manner more real and effective than is possible on the existing conditions. But the disquieting feature of the proposals is that they are based on a lack of confidence in the capacity of Indians for self-government though it is not necessary here to go so far as to say that the Report is coloured by distrust of the loyalty of the Indian people to the British connection. There is an almost unquestioning faith in the

infallibility of the Bureaucracy, in their capacity and willingness to reconcile themselves to fundamental changes in the constitution of the Government and in their readiness to loyally carry out the intentions of the authors of the change. The presumption is too much in evidence that the Bureaucratic Government and the Parliament to whom it is supposed to be responsible are more interested than Indians themselves in the well-being and advancement of India and her people. The discussions in the House of Commons on the Indian Budget are an informing commentary upon the interest that the Parliament has been taking in Indian affairs and the historical part of the Report shows what rise a century and a half of British domination has effected in the economic and national efficiency of the country and her people. It is true that India has the blessings of peace. But it ought not to be forgotten that it is one of the elementary duties of a well ordered Government to assure to the people under its sway, peace and security of person and property, and no Government much less the British Government should feel surprised if more is demanded of it.

The Indian National Congress and the Muslim League are the most important and most responsible political organizations in this country. The scheme which embodies their well considered views had naturally to be considered by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. It may be at once admitted that the Congress League Scheme does not in terms provide for Responsible Government as one of its proposals is to have an executive which is not to be removed at the instance of the legislature. But if Responsible Government presupposes on the part of those who are to take part in it a high sense of civic responsibility and a high capacity to enable them to satisfactorily discharge the duties of controlling the administration of the country, of determining the policy of the nation and of putting it into execution, it may be claimed of the Congress League Scheme that it would serve to attain the above objects.

The authors of the Report had to reject the scheme though they had every desire to bring it into relation with the announcement of 20th August, as the principles on which the main proposals are based seemed to them essentially unsound. They agree that the aim must be what is the basis of the Congress League Scheme, viz., a condition of

Provincial Autonomy in which the control of Provincial Governments by the Government of India and the Secretary of State is relaxed in favour of that by popularly elected Legislative Councils. They agree that the franchise must be as wide as possible and there should be a system of direct election. They also agree that the Muhammadans should have separate representation though for reasons different from those of the authors of the scheme. As regards the powers of the Legislatures they regard the proposal to segregate Provincial finance entirely sound. The objections however are to the number of the members of the Executive Councils being fixed at six to the bar to the appointment of members of the permanent services as Governors or Members of the Executive Councils, to the Indian members of the Executive Councils being chosen by election and to the number proposed as the strength of Legislative Councils in the major and minor Provinces. The claim to control the Provincial finances completely is not accepted. The Governor's veto is not considered enough to enable an irremovable executive to carry on the Government of the country and to continue responsible for the same. The scheme, it is said, does not ensure the working in unison of the Executive and the Legislative wheels of the Government machine. Resolutions of the Legislative Councils, it is said, ought not to be made binding on the Executive. The proposals affecting the Government of India are summarily dismissed as being obnoxious to the above objections in even a greater degree. The main objection is stated to be and it is said to be the decisive one that the Legislature and the Executive derive their power from and are to be responsible to different authorities and it is said that even for a transitional change before the introduction of a complete system of Responsible Government the system is not well suited and in fact affords the worst possible education for Responsible Government. Finally it is stated that the scheme will be unworkable in practice.


For obvious reasons it is not necessary to examine their objections in any great detail. As regards the responsibility of the Executive Council to two different authorities, viz., the Parliament and the Legislature, the scheme as proposed in the Report is not free from that defect and it is inevitable in any scheme intended for a transitional stage in the administration of the country. Due importance has not been attached to the suggestion that the Indian portion of the Executive Council should be by

election as that was intended to provide the connecting rod between the Executive and the Legislative wheels of the machine of Government on whose importance emphasis is rightly laid in the Report. Those who constitute the elected portion of the Executive Councils are in a position of peculiar advantage to interpret the wishes and aims of the legislature to the Executive Government and to explain to the legislature the difficulties and limitations of the Executive Government. It is too readily assumed that the legislature would refuse its sanction to measures needed in the best interest of the country and that it would hastily put itself in a position of hostility to the Executive though its representatives are in the Executive Council. The report recognises that even for the success of its proposals, it is essential that the Indian leaders should be sincere and public spirited and that is exactly what the Congress League Scheme also presupposes. It is admitted on all hands that wherever in this country there has been an extension of the people's share in the association with Government in the administration, the representatives of the people have been so far helpful and not obstructive; and the wider franchise and the system of direct election proposed will have only the effect of bringing into the Legislative Councils people alive to the difficulties of the Government and prepared therefore not to embarrass it by needless opposition. The position that the Executive Government secure of its power under the scheme suggested in the Report will fail to heed the views of the legislature to the extent they deserve, is as tenable as that out of perversity, the legislature will fail to support the executive to the extent that the best interests of the country's demand and past experience has a great deal to say in favour of the former view. Then, even according to the Report, there is a great deal in the Congress League Scheme to which no objection can be and is taken and when it is also admitted that the Congress League Scheme has had the support of the country in a large measure, it is altogether regrettable that that scheme should have been thrown overboard without even an attempt to improve upon it in the directions wherein it might have appeared to the authors of the Report to be defective. The fact however remains that that scheme has been rejected; and the question is what is the course that is now to be adopted by responsible men in the country. There are three alternatives open. Insist upon having the Congress League Scheme and reject the Reform proposals altogether or

suggest a third scheme not being either the Congress League Scheme or the Reform proposals or insist upon modifications in the Reform proposals so as to bring them into line with the Congress League Scheme to the extent possible. In determining on the alternative to be adopted it has to be remembered that the Reform proposals as contained in the report have already obtained a large measure of support in Britain. It may even be said that some prejudice has been created against the Congress League Scheme on account of the criticisms in the report; and a bill is being drafted on the lines of the Reform proposals. In these circumstances it is not possible to have the attention diverted from the Reform proposals and to have it fixed upon the Congress League Scheme even if it be with a view to modify that scheme. It is not possible now to evolve a third scheme for the simple reason amongst others that we have none ready and that it will take considerable time before any scheme to be evolved can be put before the country and can have its acceptance. If the consideration of the Congress League Scheme as such in the present circumstances is not practicable there ought to be little difficulty in deciding which of the other alternatives is to be adopted. It is of course possible to us to refuse to have

anything to do with the Reform proposals once the Congress League Scheme as such is rejected. But can it be said to be practical politics to do so? It has to be remembered that the arbiters of the destinies of India and her people are in the British Kingdom. And there is a large and powerful body of opposition to the Reform proposals headed by Lord Sydenham and his co-workers. We have also the example of Ireland before us. It may be said with confidence that by hard persistent and united agitation in the country we may be able to wreck the attempt at any legislation based upon the Reform proposals. But it will not be so practicable to secure another piece of legislation to take its place and if the present opportunity is let to slip and the present conditions are not availed of, though the discontent of the people may deepen and the strength of the agitation against the existing order of things increases, it will be long before another constructive piece of adjustment to the requirements of the present situation is attempted. I am humbly of opinion that the best interests of the country require rather than we should insist upon modifications in the Reform proposals such as will make them approximate more largely to popular needs and aspirations.

III. THE REV. DR. J. LAZARU

LL true lovers of India's welfare must accept with gratitude the Reform Scheme proposed by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. Stern autocracy has begun to make way for a clamant democracy. This is true historic growth. England struggled for centuries for her own reforms. The struggle is not ended yet. India which had been used to despotic rule cannot profit by drastic reforms or hope to secure self-Government by a stroke of the pen. Patient study and decades of training are required for the art of what may be called Home Rule.

In the present scheme there is ample promise of a rich harvest for those who would reap with care and caution. For example, bitter, and in certain instances, justifiable complaints have been made in the Press against the bureaucracy. But by the terms of the scheme, this very factor is to become a gradually vanishing quantity. But let us trust that the Indian Service which is to replace it will be no worse. A good stroke of policy is popular representation which is to begin with the Village Panchayet and gradually lead up to Provincial autonomy, which is the crux of the proposed Reform. Naturally differences of opinion

have arisen and will continue to arise until Parliament modifies the intricate details in some satisfactory and equitable form.

Though the Scheme is not labelled as the result of the now famous Congress League Reform, there is no question but that it is so in more aspects than one. The Congress has been a most potent factor in not merely educating public opinion in India but even leading the British Cabinet to recognise its influence and acknowledge its responsibility to weeping India. And this is the chief feature which ought to appeal with special force to all Indian patriots. The proposed schemes are not to be final but to be severely tested a decade afterwards and probably decade after decade. The results of experience are certain to add many a salutary reform until at last the solemnly promised goal of responsible government is reached. "God moves in a mysterious way" and seldom answers our prayers in the time or form in which we desire them. Patience is as necessary in political as in social life. The tiny acorn must be allowed time to develop into the sturdy oak.

THE REFORM PROPOSALS: A SYMPOSIUM

Since the publication of the Report leading men of all shades of opinion in England and India have expressed their views on the proposals. *Reuter*, the *Associated Press* and the *Servant of India* have with judicious care obtained the opinions of as many representative men as are likely to count. An attempt has been made in these pages to collect the more important of these with the hope that the reader may have the general opinion of leading men on these important proposals at a glance. [Ed. J.K.]

Lord Morley

He should be very precipitant if, at this stage, he said a bold aye or no of approval or disapproval. He had studied the report very carefully and felt he could not be mistaken in tracing the lineaments of the physiognomy in 1909 in the progeny of 1918. (Laughter and Cheers.) He had the privilege and advantage of being the colleague of Mr. Montagu and he felt that the latter's steering orders were on the whole more likely to be recommended than any others imaginable. Lord Morley emphasised that the political development of India must be carefully watched and those would be just and wise statesmen who did not shrink from letting the imperial public know what might lie before them. The Indian demand, he continued, could not be met by dogmatic negatives. There would have to be considerable treatment whether in the form of Mr. Montagu's proposals or any other form.—*Speech at the National Liberal Club.*

Rt. Hon. Mr. Montagu

The greatest tribute to Lord Morley's work in India was that something more was necessary and wanting. (Cheers.) Since Lord Morley's reforms were instituted the political development of India had been so great as to be unlexiable unless one had seen it at its beginning and to-day. Mr. Montagu concluded: Things which Lord Morley and his colleagues did and taught the world I determined, however great the difficulty and however loud the opposition (Cheers), to go on with, and, wherever I may be, work all I can to place India on the indisputable road to the final vindication and justification of the glorious British connection, with an Indian India, responsible, complete and self-governed.—*Speech at the National Liberal Club.*

Lord Carmichael

A heartsick India would be a danger to the whole Empire and I trust Lord Chelmsford to do all which an honest and straightforward man can to avoid that.

H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala

• He did not doubt that he was expressing the opinion of his brother Princes in welcoming wholeheartedly the proposals ensuring in questions where British India and the States were jointly concerned that the views of the Princes should be presented to Government by an authoritative body speaking on their behalf. We look forward to taking our place in the organic development of the British Empire, and if we are to do this satisfactorily provision must exist for taking our views into account as regards relations between India as a whole and foreign States and also as regards such questions as defence, currency and customs.—*The Times.*

Sir S. P. Sinha

I unhesitatingly believe that the report lays the foundations of an Indian constitution which will contribute to the solidarity and the unity of the Empire in like degree as the genius of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman achieved in the case of South Africa.

As regards the Congress-League Scheme and the reasons stated for the non-acceptance of it in its entirety, it should be borne in mind that many of its proposals find acceptance in principle and sometimes in actual detail. In one sense the difference between the Congress-League Scheme and the report is more of procedure than of principle. Both aim at the establishment of Responsible Government within a reasonable time and both admittedly provide for a period of transition. The report is a considerable improvement on the Scheme in two essential particulars, firstly it provides adequate machinery for the political education of the people from the very start, secondly it ensures the periodical examination of the political situation at definite intervals for the purpose of further advance and invests the popular representatives with the responsibility for certain important branches of administration immediately.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi

In my opinion then, as an artistic production, the scheme now published is superior to the Congress League Scheme. I further consider that both Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been inspired by an honest desire for a due fulfilment of the declaration of the 20th August and for the welfare of India. They have taken great pains over their most difficult and delicate task and I cannot but think that any hasty rejection of their effort will be a misfortune for the country. In my humble opinion, the scheme deserves a sympathetic handling rather than a summary rejection. But it would need to be considerably improved before it is accepted by the reformers. After all our standard of measurement must be the Congress-League Scheme, crude though it is. I think that we should with all the vehemence and skill that we can command press for the incorporation into it of the essentials of our own. (*Letter to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Sastri.*)

Hon. Mr. S. N. Banerjee

It is a momentous historical document. We may not be able to accept all its recommendations. We may think that in some important respects, it needs modification and expansion, but speaking for myself, I have no hesitation in saying, and I trust I may be allowed to speak for you, that it marks a definite stage, it may be the first stage, towards the progressive realisation of responsible government. * * *
—*Speech at the Indian Association, Calcutta.*

Mrs. Annie Besant

It remains for India to take counsel with herself if she is not to remain indefinitely in bondage. We can begin by inserting into the framework of this inadequate measure the important features of the Congress League Scheme, as a first step. In this the Moderate Congressmen should join us, at least all those who have asserted that they hold to the Scheme, as the majority of the leading men have done, foremost among whom is the Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerji, who as he proposed the Scheme in 1916, should now propose the insertion of its crucial features into the new framework at the Special Congress. The Muslims must back up the Nationalists and the Moderates on this common ground, and insist on the representation given them in the Scheme. On this ground, to which we are all already pledged, we can unite as in 1916, and speak in the Special Congress with the united voice of India.—*New India*, 27th July.

Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

There are great defects in the scheme which must be remedied before we can accord enthusiastic approval. We cannot consent to leave the Government of India absolutely untouched. * * * The country attaches the greatest possible importance to fiscal autonomy on which no definite recommendation is made. Members without portfolios are not to prove an incumbrance while the Privy Council having no constitutional functions will become ceremonious and ornamental. The addition of one Indian to the Viceroy's Executive Council is totally insufficient, when the restriction on its maximum number is removed. Ordinarily the constitution of a second House implies a wholly elective first House. At any rate the majority in the case of the Indian Legislative Assembly must be more than two third while in case of the provincial legislatures, real autonomy would be impracticable without an absolutely decisive majority. The provincial legislatures must have power to raise and debate definite matters of urgent public importance, and the Governor must be under an obligation to summon the council at stated intervals. He should not preside over the legislature, nor nominate the President. The proposals on the whole seem to be firmly and wisely conceived. They deserve to be welcomed and generally supported. The Viceroy and the Secretary of State are entitled to our congratulations on their clear perception of the ideal to be aimed at and on the broad statesmanship that has inspired their proposals.

Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy

In spite of the details on which there are bound to be differences of opinion we should welcome the scheme as a whole as an honest attempt on the part of the authors to meet the political situation.—*Times of India*.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar

To stigmatise without calm and considerate examination the Montagu scheme as unacceptable, disappointing, reactionary, and above all, a fraud on the people of India, intended by the authors of the scheme to waste time in promises with no intention of performance is to betray an unpolitical habit of mind, sure, if persisted in, to prove disastrous to India's future at this juncture of affairs.

Hon. Babu B. N. Basu

The objection that India had pressed her claims in War time would have had considerable force, if the British Parliament could give an assurance that after the War they would not be preoccupied with the domestic affairs and would be able to attend entirely and whole-heartedly to the claims of India. On August 20th a cheque was issued payable to India and on the recommendation of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy they now claimed that the time was come for the payment of the first instalment.—*Speech at the National Liberal Club*.

Mr. Lionel Curtis

Our danger lies in the pledges being so framed that the necessary steps forthwith will expose mere delay and failure to take us to the charge of breach of faith. We stand in jeopardy unless the Cabinet will refer to those pledges at this juncture and announce in advance the procedure scrupulously framed to discharge the spirit as well as the letter.—*The Times*.

Sir Dinshaw Wacha

Nine moderate leaders including Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Chimanlal Setalvad, and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar issued a lengthy manifesto examining in detail the Chelmsford-Montagu scheme of reforms in the course of which they say that the proposed scheme forms a complicated structure capable of improvement in some particulars especially at the top, but is nevertheless a progressive measure. The reforms are calculated to make the provinces of British India reach the goal of complete responsible government. * * On the whole the proposals are evolved with great forethought and conceived in a spirit of genuine sympathy with Indian political aspirations for which the distinguished authors are entitled to the country's gratitude.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar

A manifesto issued by Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, Dewan Bahadur L. A. Govindaraghava Iyer, Mr. G. A. Natesan and several others points out that "the measures of reform proposed in the Report mark a definite stage in the progress towards the goal announced by the Secretary of State on the 26th of August last and we, therefore, consider that the path of wisdom lies not in the rejection of the scheme, but in the securing of considerable modifications in it."

Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachari

Messrs. C. Vijayaraghava Chari, S. Kasturiranga Iyengar, and some others in a manifesto issued soon after the publication of the Report consider that the scheme cannot form the basis of discussion or compromise by the people or their representatives. They are opposed to (1) calling the Princes of India in to assist Government; (2) the institution of a Council of State; (3) the division of the powers of Government on the formula of peace, order and good government; (4) the splitting up of the powers of the provincial Governments into two divisions. They think that the proposed changes in provincial Governments would make the administration more costly and unpopular.

Mr. H. S. L. Polak

Rejection of the Reform Scheme highly perilous, (Cable to Mr. Gandhi.)

Hon. Babu Amvica Charan Mazumdar

I am of opinion that if the Reform proposals as formulated in the published report, however imperfect they may be, are honestly carried out, they are sure to prove a real step in advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government in India. But it seems to me that the restrictions and limitations imposed apparently as safe-guards through excessive caution, particularly as regards the appointment, function and tenure of office of the Minister and the unlimited power of veto of the Governor, must be either removed or relaxed as otherwise these so-called safe-guards are likely to reduce the reality of the Reforms to a disappointing minimum. —*Bengalee*.

Rai Baikuntanath Sen Bahadur

Constitutional attempts might be and ought to be made for the expansion and amendment of the scheme. Our friends, the politicians, old or new, I venture to think, should seriously pause and consider what would be the result if they declare the scheme as unacceptable and carry on agitation and assuming that they succeed in securing a large number of followers whose opinion may influence the British Nation and as a result the scheme is not approved either by the British Cabinet or the Parliament. India, I am afraid in that case, will have to wait for many long years even after the termination of the War for getting anything like Responsible Government. —*Bengalee*.

Hon. Pandit M. M. Malaviya

So far as the proposals go, they constitute a large and liberal measure of reform which we should be grateful for, but they do not go far enough to meet the requirements of the country. The wholesale condemnation is out of the question. We have to suggest modifications and extension giving reasons therefor.

Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru

I think it bare justice to say both Lord Chelmsford and Mr. Montagu have made honest and genuine attempt to appreciate our point of view and equally honest attempt to grapple with complex and complicated problem before them.

Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah

We should treat the Report and the Scheme with due respect and serious consideration and concentrate all our forces and energies with a view to focus the public opinion of the country in the direction of securing these vital changes; then, if we are all agreed, I feel confident that the Scheme will have to be modified. Criticism and discussion is expressly invited on the subject and the Cabinet and Parliament will give effect to the changes that we may seek.

Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi

Differences of opinion regarding details are matters of secondary importance. Provisions regarding Muslim representation need careful consideration at the hands of Muslim workers, but all right thinking men must gratefully recognise that the scheme constitutes a generous fulfilment of the solemn promise made in the declaration of the 20th August last and is undoubtedly a substantial step in the direction of ultimate responsible government.

Hon'ble Mr. Fazlil Hussain

The proposals are complex, complicated and uncertain in their working and thus are not likely to evoke any great enthusiasm. I think we should accept the framework of the report and gladly set ourselves to suggest such alterations as we may consider necessary.

Hon. Mr. K. K. Chanda

I do not approve of the methods by which Mr. Montagu's compromise has been reached. We want the bureaucracy to be eventually abolished. That is the meaning of Responsible Government and the objective of the British policy, and it is ridiculous that the bureaucracy's view should be given the great importance that has been given to it in the final solution of the question. —*From the Presidential address to the special session of the Bengal Provincial Conference, 14th July 1918.*

Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak

I am greatly disappointed with it and urge upon our people the necessity of standing fast by the Congress ideal and to make efforts for its realisation by making every endeavour to place the question before the British public who are the ultimate judges in this case and whose decisions the Cabinet and the bureaucracy are bound to obey.

Dr. Subramania Iyer

What is the impression which it produces on one's mind? The answer is the utterly disappointing one that not even a small fraction of the thing aspired after is intended to be given: Not even 1 anna out of the 16.

Hon. Mr. Manmohandas Ramji

The scheme tried to give provincial autonomy but he doubted whether it was likely to carry the intention into effect. It was however calculated to work as a highly educated institution for preparing for a greater liberalisation of the Government in the future. The scheme was likely to bring forth a great deal of critical debate which would better have been avoided at the present stage of war.

Hon. Mr. C. V. Mehta

It will generally be recognised that Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have made great effort towards progress in the peculiar circumstances obtaining in India. He warmly approved the effort to enable the advanced province to go ahead without waiting for the more backward ones.

Mr. Ameer Ali

How soon the full fruition of the vast scheme framed by far-seeing statesmen would be realised depended upon the sobriety of Judgment and spirit of toleration and compromise which the first pioneers brought to the task. —*(Speech at the Luncheon on July 17 given by the London Moslem League to the Indian Representatives.)*

Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhicary

The scheme was undoubtedly the first stride towards the goal long in view. The scheme was an immense educative agency. It provided notable aid towards self-realization and regaining the long dormant conscience of the people.

Sir Abbas Ali Baig

Sir Abbas Ali Baig warmly commended the tone and spirit of the report which would forge new and unbreakable links between India and England if its recommendations were not whittled down by the efforts of well meaning friends whose solicitude took the form of a heavy drag-chain on the wheels of progress.

Prof. H. G. Limaye

Taken as a whole the report appears to us as a straight forward attempt to carry into effect the promise held forth in the celebrated announcement of last year. It would be idle to deny that there are serious and important drawbacks and defects in the scheme, as it has been published. It would have been surprising if it were not so, and the publication of the scheme would have served no useful purpose if it were unalterable. * * * * The statesmen of Great Britain have done their part. The statesmanship of India is on its trial. — *The Servant of India*.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar

He said he saw in it an honest effort on the part of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford to do something towards satisfying the aspirations of the Indians, but in actually investigating the golden mean between the extremes of surrendering everything and conceding nothing, official bias has unconsciously prevailed and while only an infinitesimal fraction of real power is given to the people the bulk of it had been securely reserved for the bureaucracy.

Commander Wedgwood

"In ten years, we shall see whether India cannot pull together and whether the lines of cleavage will not be no longer racial and religious, but well understood divisions of Liberal and Conservative which will need no nomination privileges. Secondly, in ten years the scheme must be revised. Meanwhile Indian patriots can and must transfer their activities to the Legislative Councils, where they will be protected by the privilege of Parliament and their words reported." — *Daily News*.

Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain

In spite of defects I am prepared to welcome the scheme as a first substantial instalment towards the fulfilment of the promise contained in the August declaration and its hasty rejection will be a misfortune for the country. It is our duty to press for modifications and expansion in several directions, but this should not prevent us from giving the scheme generally our whole hearted support.

Hon'ble Mr. Yakub Hasan

Some of the things the Congress and the League have been agitating for are conceded as it were by a stroke of the pen. The modification of the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State, the placing of the Secretary of State on the Home Estimates, the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons for Indian affairs, and the establishment in India of the Privy Council, all this is indeed welcome. It will thus be seen that the scheme on the whole is not so bad as to deserve the wholesale condemnation meted out to it in certain quarters.

Sir Rajendranath Mookerjee

In my opinion the scheme is well conceived and will meet though not fully the aspirations of all sections of the community. If we the people of India exercise the powers proposed to be conferred upon us conscientiously and with a full sense of responsibility I feel confident that after a period of ten years the British Government will concede further substantial powers in the direction of self-government.

Sir K. G. Gupta

Sir K. G. Gupta cordially supported the scheme, but the success of the scheme, he said, depended upon the two committees that would be appointed. The military question should have been more boldly faced as responsible government would not mean much without a national army. He had however no doubt that a great beginning had been made.

Hon'ble Dr. A. Suhrawardy

He considered the Viceroy and the Secretary of State had made an honest and earnest effort to solve the questions of Indian aspirations. However, the Mahomedans of his way of thinking would have a lot to say with regard to certain provisions in the scheme which affected them. He did not think the Muslim aspirations would be satisfied unless certain provisions affecting them were modified.

Hon. Mirza Sami-ullah Beg

I am prepared to accept the Joint Report as the basis of discussion and future construction because I see that the lines on which it has proceeded are such that its halting stages from the very nature of them can never be final and permanent, and that they must necessarily lead to the goal which is at the heart of every one of us, our differences of course lying in the measure of time required to pass those stages. I feel that it is our duty to respond to the great and noble impulses that flow from the Report. Under no circumstances would I think of rejecting it. — *Leader*, July 17.

Hon. Mr. Chintamani

Absolutely for the first time during the 23 years of my acquaintance with the affairs have I come across in a State paper bearing the signatures of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State sentiments which we, the Nationalists of India, had hitherto the monopoly of uttering on the principles of Indian Government. Many a passage in the report is reminiscent of Gokhale and our other elder statesmen of the National Congress more than of the looking backwards of Anglo-India. — *Servant of India*.

Hon. Mr. R. P. Paranjpyé

While it is altogether different from the Congress League Scheme it is, if given effect to in toto and worked in the proper spirit both by the Government and the leaders of the people, a very considerable advance on the present state of things. It contains in itself the germs of future development and the periodical committees which are to consider the results of each advance at stated intervals, give a guarantee that progress will not be stopped. On the other hand, it is not at all revolutionary. If we work it properly, I think that full responsible Government will be achieved in the course of some 25 years.

Hon. Mr. Mahomedbhai

One rises from reading the reform scheme with a feeling of relief and satisfaction that a good beginning has been made towards liberalising the foundations of Indian policy. The scheme though full of great potentialities leaves much to be desired in regard to fiscal autonomy for India.

Hon. Mr. Phiroze Sethna

If there are weak points in the scheme it must be admitted there is at the back of it all a desire and conviction that the ultimate aim must be responsible government within the empire. The best thought out scheme could not please everybody. The public at large must have faith and go on in the assurance that the future is opening and must do so more and more.

Hon. Mr. M. Ramchandra Row

I must once again ask my countrymen not to throw away the present opportunity for reform in a spirit of huff but to subject the proposals to a thorough and critical examination, suggest improvement and modifications in either of the two schemes before the country and press the modified scheme with insistence till it is conceded. "*Servant of India.*"

Hon. Mr. A. S. Krishna Rao

Though it is not possible to accept the scheme in its present form, it is inexpedient to reject it altogether. It is our duty to press with all possible strength and ability for the acceptance of the essential principles of the Congress-League scheme of reforms. Our cause is a just and righteous one and we are sure to succeed.—*The Hindu.*

Sir Nilratan Sircar

Sir Nilratan Sircar expressed general approval of the scheme.

Hon. Rai Bahadur P. Narayan Sinha

Had it not been for the over-estimation of their difficulties and their over-caution to provide for possible abuses, the illustrious authors of the Scheme could have produced a scheme much better than that they have done, a scheme that could have given a really substantial measure of responsible Government in the immediate present.

Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee

The Montagu Chelmsford Scheme of Reforms is a step, but not a long step, towards Self-Government. Unfortunately, it falls short of our expectations, and will fail to evoke much enthusiasm. The proposals as they stand, though they are not mere shams or shows, do not go far enough to meet the exigencies of the situation or satisfy Indian public opinion to the full extent. I trust, however, that the reform Scheme will be amended in the light of the criticisms that are offered, and I think it would be unwise on the part of our public men to show an attitude of hostility towards it, which is bound to have the effect of strengthening the hands of those reactionaries who do not want any reforms in the Indian constitution and who would only be too glad to wreck the Scheme.

Mr. Jehangir B. Petit

The reform scheme did not go far enough. It was of a halting character, and would not satisfy the country.

Prof. V. G. Kale, M. A.

We must make it clear to the British public and the Cabinet that unless a considerable measure of popular control is provided in the Central Government the scheme as a whole will not be accepted by the country and there is no reason why the leaders should shirk this duty. The apprehensions that such a suggestion will wreck the scheme are groundless. We should urge that at least in the advanced provinces the reserved services should be very few and that the power of provincial taxation should be real and full. With these reservations the rejection of the scheme in toto will be worse than suicide.—*Servant of India.*

Hon. Mr. K. Rama Ayyangar

It does not meet the legitimate aspirations of the people which in the earlier part of the Report is admitted to exist. The supposed safeguards provided for are too many and unduly cumbersome.

Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan

Nearly half the value of the scheme will depend upon the shape it will ultimately assume when the Bill passes through Parliament. While practical suggestions may be made to improve the scheme and render it acceptable to representative Indian opinion, the scheme ought to be welcome by all sections of the Indian population, and deserves to adorn the Indian statute book.

Sir B. C. Mitter

Justice, freedom and liberty are the principles which England has always fostered and she is giving you this scheme which is a distinct step towards self-government. Are you going to reject these solid substantial things which are offered to you for the purpose of following a mere shadow, a mere phantom. The choice is yours. (*Speech at Town Hall, Burdwan, July 20.*)

Mr. M. V. Joshi

The proposals are a bold and genuine attempt to realise the promise made on the memorable 20th August. They concede the main principles of the Congress-League Scheme.

Mr. B. P. Wadia

The pronouncement of August last remains unaffected; the mission which came to India for the specific purpose of evolving a scheme which would ultimately take us towards Responsible Government has brought forth nothing; the Report before us is not progressive and there are indications that, when worked, it may prove to be retrogressive.—*New India.*

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

The main defect in the new proposals is their disinclination to vest real responsibility and power in the representatives of the people. Let us strive to bring about a change in this attitude and let us so define and formulate our demands that they may be accepted as practical and constructive suggestions. *Address to the Madras Ramnad Conference.*

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT

The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms by H. E. Lord Chelmsford and the Rt. Hon. Mr. E. S. Montagu was published on the 8th July in the form of a Blue Book of 243 pages Demi Octavo.* It opens with an Introduction pointing out the method and the scope of the inquiry conducted by the Montagu-Chelmsford mission and the gravity and importance of the Report embodying the results of their deliberations. Part I. contains a historical resume of the events leading to the appointment of the mission and justifying the need for the announcement of August 20, 1917 and the urgency of the Reforms propounded in part II to give effect to that historic announcement. The Second part contains the text of the main Proposals recommended to be adopted by Parliament. The Appendices contain a careful summary (as printed in the following pages) and supplementary papers containing expressions of general approval of the Scheme from important bodies like the members of the mission, and the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Council of the Secretary of State for India. [Ed.A.R.]

A "GENERAL PICTURE."

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford give in the course of their report the following "general picture" of the progress which they intend and of the nature and order of the steps to be taken on the road:—

Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of states, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modulated in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organisation of British India, in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service, without loss of individuality.

We conclude therefore that change in any one portion of the Indian polity will involve changes on parallel lines out by no means at an equal pace in the other portions; and we claim that our proposals satisfy this fundamental principle. We begin with a great extension of local self-government so as to train the electorates in the matters which they will best understand. Simultaneously we provide for a substantial measure of self-government in the provinces and for better representation and more criticism in the Government of India and for fuller knowledge in Parliament. And we suggest machinery by means of which at regular stages the element of responsibility can be continuously enlarged and that of official control continuously diminished, in a way that will guarantee ordered progress and afford an answer to intermediate representations and agitation.

* *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.* Govt. Printing, Calcutta. Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, Madras. Price Re. 1-2.

In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask therefore of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report. As we have said already, because it contemplates transitional arrangements, it is open to the criticisms which can always be effectively directed against all such plans. Hybrid executives, limited responsibility, assemblages partly elected and partly nominated, divisions of functions, reservations general or particular are devices that can have no permanent abiding place. They bear on their faces their transitional character; and they can be worked only if it is clearly recognised that that is their justification and their purpose. They cannot be so devised as to be logical. They must be charged with potentialities of friction. Hope of avoiding mischief lies in facing the fact that they are temporary expedients for training purposes, and in providing that the goal is not merely kept in sight but made attainable, not by agitation but by the operation of machinery inherent in the scheme itself. The principle laid down was the progressive realisation of responsible Government. We have chosen the province as the unit in which it should be realised. Within that unit we intend, so far as is possible, immediate and complete responsibility in local affairs: responsibility within provincial governments in certain subjects, first to constituencies and then to the legislative councils; the reservation of other matters to a part of the executive Government whose responsibility to Parliament shall for the time being continue; a machinery for periodic inquiry with a view to the progressive diminution and eventual disappearance of the reserved subjects.

If anything could enhance the sense of responsibility under which our recommendations are made in a matter fraught with consequences so immense, it would be the knowledge that even as we bring our report to an end far greater issues still hang in the balance upon the battle-grounds of France. It is there and not in Delhi or Whitehall that the ultimate decision of India's future will be taken. The liberty of the world must be won before our deliberations over the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. We cannot close this document more fittingly than with the prayer, which we

know all India echoes, that the principles of justice and freedom may be saved to the world by the splendid endurance and self-sacrifice of His Majesty's and the Allied armies.

GENERAL PROPOSITIONS

The proposals set forth in the Report on Indian Constitutional Reform are really the application to practical conditions of four general propositions. For the sake of clearness, these propositions may be set out thus—

I.—There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies, and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.

II.—The provinces are the domain in which the earliest steps towards the progressive realisation of responsible Government should be taken. Some measure of responsibility should be given at once, and our aim is to give complete responsibility as soon as conditions admit. This involves at once giving the provinces the largest measure of independence, legislative, administrative and financial, of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities.

III.—The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament, and saving such responsibility its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending evidence of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged, and made more representative, and its opportunities of inducing Government increased.

IV.—In proportion as the foregoing changes take effect, the control of Parliament and the Secretary of State over the Government of India and provincial Government must be relaxed.

WHAT THE PROPOSALS MEAN

What has been done by the proposals may be summarised in the words of the authors.

What we have done is to afford Indians a fair share in the Government of the entire country, while providing in the provinces the means for them to attain the stage of responsible Government, to which the beginning of responsibility for the Government of India itself must be the sequel.

A Summary of the Proposals

H. E. the Viceroy and the Secretary of State at the conclusion of their report summarise their recommendations as follow. They point out that this summary is intended only to be a concise indication of the proposals and should be read with the paragraphs of the report noted by the figures.

PARLIAMENT AND THE INDIA OFFICE.

1. The control of Parliament and the Secretary of State to be modified. Paras. 251, 252.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State for India to be transferred to the Home Estimates. 294.

3. The House of Commons to be asked to appoint a Select Committee for Indian affairs. 295.

4. A Committee to be appointed to examine and report on the present constitution of the Council of India and on the India Office establishment. 253.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

5. The Government of India to preserve indisputable authority on matters assigned by it to be essential in the discharge of its responsibilities for peace, order and good government. 266.

6. A Privy Council for India to be established. 287.

THE EXECUTIVE.

7. To increase the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council. 272.

8. To abolish the present statutory maximum for the Executive Council and the Statutory qualification for seats. 271.

9. To take power to appoint a limited number of members of the legislature to a position analogous to that of Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain. 275.

THE LEGISLATURE.

10. To replace the present Legislative Council of the Governor-General by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. 273—276.

11. The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-President). Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the members of the Executive Council) to be officials. 277.

The life of each Council of State to be 5 years. 276.

The Governor-General in Council to frame regulations as to the qualifications for membership of the Council of State. 278.

12. The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials. 273.

The President of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor-General. 275.

13. Official members of the Council of State to be eligible also for nomination to the Legislative Assembly. 277.

14. The Governor-General to have power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. 285.

15. The following procedure to be adopted for legislation. 275—282.

A Government bill: ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor-General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interest of peace and order or good Government (including in this term sound financial administration), in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor-General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above, to refer it *de novo*, to the Council of

State. The Governor-General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance in and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly. 213.

B. Private bills: to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor-General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State; the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council. 220.

16. Resolutions to have effect only as recommendations. 224.

17. The Governor-General and the Crown to retain their respective powers of assent, reservation, or disallowance. 223.

18. The Governor-General to retain his existing power of making Ordinances and the Governor-General in Council his power of making Regulations. 276 and 283.

19. Nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. 275.

20. Any member of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. The Governor-General not to disallow a question on the ground that it cannot be answered consistently with the public interest, but power to be retained to disallow a question on the ground that the putting of it is inconsistent with the public interest. 236 and 286.

21. Rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be made in the first instance by the Governor-General in Council. The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to be entitled to modify their rules, subject to the sanction of the Governor-General. In each case such modifications not to require the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council and not to be laid before Parliament. 286.

22. Joint Standing Committees of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to be associated with as many departments of Government as possible. The Governor-General in Council to decide with which departments Standing Committees can be associated, and the head of the department concerned to decide what matters shall be referred to the Standing Committee. Two-thirds of each Standing Committee to be elected by ballot by the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, one-third to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council. 285.

THE PROVINCES.

23. The Provincial Governments to be given the widest independence from superior control in legislative, administrative, and financial matters which is compatible with the due discharge of their own responsibilities by the Government of India. 189.

24. Responsible Government in the provinces to be attained first by the devolution of responsibility in

certain subjects called hereafter the transferred subjects (all other subjects being called reserved subjects), and then by gradually increasing this devolution by successive stages until complete responsibility is reached. 213, 216, 218, 238, and 260.

PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES.

25. The executive Government in a province to consist of a Governor and Executive Council, a minister or Ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and an additional member or Members without portfolios. 214, 218 and 220.

26. The Executive Council to consist of two members, one of whom will be an Indian. 218.

Reserved subjects to be in the charge of the Governor and the Members of the Executive Council. 218.

27. The Minister or Ministers to be appointed for the term of the Legislative Council, and to have charge of the transferred subjects. 216, 219.

28. The additional member or Members to be appointed by the Governor from among his senior officials for purposes of consultation and advice only. 220.

29. The Government thus constituted to deliberate generally as a whole, but the Governor to have power to summon either part of his Government to deliberate with him separately. Decisions on reserved subjects and on the supply for them in the provincial budget to rest with the Governor and his Executive Council; decisions on transferred subjects and the supply for them with the Governor and Ministers. 218, 221.

30. Power to be taken to appoint a limited number of members of the Legislative Council to a position analogous to that of the Parliamentary Under-Secretaries in Great Britain. 224.

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

31. In each province an enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible; (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members; and (3) ex-officio members. The franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council to be determined by regulations to be made on the advice of the Committee described in paragraph 23 by the Governor-General in Council, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, and laid before Parliament. 225, 232, 233.

32. The Governor to be President of the Legislative Council with power to appoint a Vice-President. 236.

33. The Governor to have power to dissolve the Legislative Council. 254.

34. Resolutions (except on the budget) to have effect only as recommendations. 237.

35. Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. 233.

36. Any members of the Legislative Council to be entitled to ask supplementary questions. 236.

37. The existing rules governing the procedure for the transaction of business to continue, but the Legislative Council to have power to modify them with the sanction of the Governor. 236.

38. Standing Committees of the Legislative Council to be formed and attached to each department, or to groups of departments. These Committees to consist of members elected by the Legislative Council, of the

heads of the departments concerned, and the Member or Minister, who would preside. 235.

39. Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs 252.

40. The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquillity of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the *Gazette*. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a Grand Committee: but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject. 252.

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council. 252.

41. The Grand Committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject-matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials. 252.

42. The bill as passed in Grand Committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council, or reject it. After such discussion the bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details, and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor-General and the Secretary of State. 253.

43. Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the bill, clause, or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee. 254.

44. All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor-General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty. 254.

45. The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment. 254.

46. The Governor-General to have power to reserve Provincial Acts. 254.

FINANCE.

47. A complete separation to be made between Indian and provincial heads of revenue. 200, 201.

48. Provincial contributions to the Government of India to be the first charge on Provincial revenues. 206 and 256.

49. Provincial Governments to have certain powers of taxation and of borrowing. 210, 211.

50. The budget to be laid before the Legislative Council. If the Legislative Council refuses to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects the Governor in Council to have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment, on the Governor's certifying that, for reasons to be stated, such restoration is in his opinion essential either to the peace or tranquillity of the province or any part thereof, or to the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. Except in so far as he exercises this power, the budget to be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council. 256.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

51. Complete popular control in local bodies to be established as far as possible. 188.

PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTIONS.

52. Five years after the first meeting of the new Councils the Government of India to consider any applications addressed to it by a provincial Government or a provincial Legislative Council for the modification of the list of reserved and transferred subjects. In such cases the Government of India with the sanction of the Secretary of State to have power to transfer any reserved subject, or in case of serious maladministration to remove to the reserved list any subjects already transferred, and to have power also to order that the salary of the Ministers shall be specifically voted each year by the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council to have the right of deciding at the same or any subsequent time by resolution that such salary be specifically voted yearly. 260.

PRELIMINARY ACTION.

53. A Committee to be appointed consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, an official and an Indian non-official. This Committee to advise on the question of the separation of Indian from provincial functions, and to recommend which of the functions assigned to the province should be transferred subjects. An official and an Indian non-official in each province which it is at the time examining to be added to the Committee. 238.

54. A second Committee to be appointed, consisting of a Chairman appointed from England, two officials and two Indian non-officials, to examine constituencies, franchises, and the composition of the Legislative Council in each Province, and of the Legislative Assembly. An official and an Indian non-official in each Province which it is at the time examining to be added to the Committee. 225.

55. The two Committees to have power to meet and confer. 238.

COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY.

56. A Commission to be appointed ten years after the first meeting of the new legislative bodies to review the constitutional position both as regards the Government of India and the provinces. The names of the Commissioners to be submitted for the approval of Parliament. Similar Commissions to be appointed at intervals of not more than twelve years. 261.

THE NATIVE STATES.

57. To establish a Council of Princes. 306.

58. The Council of Princes to appoint a Standing Committee. 307.

59. The Viceroy in his discretion to appoint a Commission, composed of a High Court Judge and one nominee of each of the parties, to advise in case of disputes between States, or between a State and a Local Government or the Government of India. 308.

60. Should the necessity arise of considering the question of depriving a Ruler of a State of any of his rights, dignities, or powers, or of debarring from succession any member of his family, the Viceroy to appoint a Commission to advise consisting of a High Court Judge, two Ruling Princes, and two persons of high standing nominated by him. 309.

61. All States possessing full internal powers to have direct relations with the Government of India. 310.

62. Relations with Native States to be excluded from transfer to the Control of Provincial Legislative Council. 310.

63. Arrangements to be made for joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of Princes and the Council of State on matters of common interest. 278, 311.

THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished. 315.

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India. 316.

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services. 316, 317.

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until the position is reviewed by the Commission (paragraph 55). 317.

68. Rates of pay to be reconsidered with reference to the rise in the cost of living and the need for maintaining the standard of recruitment. Incremental time-scales to be introduced generally and increments to continue until the superior grade is attained. The maximum of ordinary pension to be raised to Rs. 6,000, payable at the rate of 1s. 9d. to the rupee, with special pensions for certain high appointments. Indian Civil Service annuities to be made non-contributory but contributions to continue to be funded. Leave rules to be reconsidered with a view to greater elasticity, reduction of excessive amounts of leave admissible, and concession of reduced leave on full pay. The accumulation of privilege leave up to four months to be considered. 318—321.

69. A rate of pay based on recruitment in India to be fixed for all public services, but a suitable allowance to be granted to persons recruited in Europe or on account of qualifications obtained in Europe, and the converse principle to be applied to Indians employed in Europe. 322.

NOTES OF ASSENT.

Members of Mr. Montagu's Party

You have communicated to us who formed part of your mission to India the scheme of Constitutional Reforms proposed in the system of government in British India which has been worked out and agreed upon between His Excellency the Viceroy and yourself.

The scheme is the outcome of discussions in which you have given us the privilege of taking a continuous part and it embodies the conclusions arrived at in those discussions. We need only say therefore that we unitedly support your recommendations and are prepared to recommend their adoption to public opinion both in England and in India. In our view, while safeguarding Imperial interests and providing for the proper maintenance of law and order, they

carry out His Majesty's Government's announcement of August 20th last by providing at once for such an instalment of self-government as is at present practicable and safe, together with statutory machinery for its development at subsequent stages.

We would further submit an urgent plea for publication of these proposals as soon as can be arranged. It is impossible now to avoid discussions on Constitutional Reforms in India whatever may be the objection to having such discussions in war time; but we are convinced that there would be serious inconveniences and even risks unless the further discussion of these subjects is guided by regard on the one hand to the substantial measure of reform that is now practicable and on the other to the limits within which reform at this stage must necessarily be confined. We would therefore wish to represent to you our strong view of the desirability of publishing the proposals for consideration both in England and in India without any undue delay.

We have only in conclusion to express to you our sense of the readiness with which you have throughout taken into consideration any suggestions which we have from time to time placed before you and to assure you that if at any later stage we can give any assistance towards the passage of these reforms into law we shall gladly do whatever is in our power.

The Viceroy and Members of Council

We have the honour to inform you that we have been furnished with copies of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms drawn up by His Excellency the Viceroy and yourself for submission to His Majesty's Government.

2 Though this most important document represents views for which the signatories thereto are alone responsible, we desire to record the fact that it was framed after prolonged discussion with us. There are no doubt detailed recommendations on which some of us hold divergent views but we wish to convey our cordial support to the general policy which the report embodies.

The Secretary of State's Council

We have read carefully the Report on Constitutional Reforms in India. This report is the outcome of the announcement made by the Secretary of State on August 20th, 1917, that Government had decided that substantial steps were to be taken as soon as possible towards increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and gradually developing self-governing institutions with a view to the progress of real responsible government in India.

Having these ends in view, the general policy of the Report meets with our unanimous support. We are of opinion that on the whole it recommends the measures best adapted to ensure safe and steady progress in the desired direction and, while reserving to ourselves freedom to reconsider the details of the various important measures suggested when public criticism has been received, we heartily support the policy as a whole.

We consider that in connection with the publication of the Report the various addresses and schemes put before the Secretary of State in India should be published or if the bulk of the documents in question is so great as to render a complete reprint undesirable that a very careful selection should be made from them embodying all shades of opinion.

The National Aims of the Czech-Slovaks 497

BY

REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER

DURING recent months the problems relating to the future of the Czechs and the Slovaks have been much before the public, and certain developments have given these people, members of a nation that has long been forced to submit to Austrian tyranny, an opportunity of giving effective aid to the Allies whose war aims coincide so closely with the objects of these people. In France a strong force of Czecho-Slovaks, consisting of thousands and thousands of soldiers who have either been taken prisoners, or have surrendered voluntarily to the "enemy," and of men who have come from America where they sought a freedom they were not permitted to enjoy at home. Official recognition has been given to this army, and they have already given valuable assistance to the Allies. It is estimated that the Czecho-Slovak Army will number about 130,000 men, and these are to be distributed among the various fighting units in France and Italy especially. It is reported that in Russia, as soon as the enrolment of prisoners was authorised, over 20,000 Czechs offered themselves. The recent Austrian offensive, which proved so signal a failure, was announced to the Italian leaders by one of this nation who escaped from the Austrian force. In Russia we find that the Czecho-Slovak is one of the most important factors of the situation, and though it is not yet clear in what direction the strength of this force will be felt, there is no doubt that it has gained the sympathy of large classes of Russian people who recognise in the movement a serious attempt to obtain for Russians as for themselves the right of self-determination apart from Bolshevik and German interference. The President of the United States has never left the world in doubt as to his sym-

pathy for these people, and he has always placed the liberation of the Czechs and Slovaks in the forefront of the Allies' war aims. The rest of the Allies have now changed their general reference to these people into a definite promise that they will support them in their legitimate claims for self-determination. This is a great step in advance, and is a clear evidence of the fact that this movement is now definitely associated with the Allies, and prepared to place all its weight in political and military force against the Austrian and German power.

When we examine the history of these people from the beginning of the War, we find that though not declared members of the Allies, they have been actively supporting our war efforts. At the outbreak of the war the Czechs of Bohemia refused to take any sympathetic interest in the war efforts of their rulers, the Austrian and Hungarian leaders. It is estimated that, as a result of that opposition no less than 4,000 men, including many members of the Reischrat, were executed for high treason; a vast number of others have endured imprisonment and the confiscation of their property. It is reported that not a single Czech or Slovak subject of Austria-Hungary, residing abroad, has returned to the colours, while innumerable volunteers have everywhere offered their services to the Entente Powers. The opposition of Czech and Slovak workmen has done more than anything else to frustrate the designs of the German spies on the American munition factories. Then, too, we must remember that the wholesale defection of Czech soldiers from the Austrian army was an important factor in the Russian successes, and in the failure of the expedition against Serbia, and more latterly, the

offensive against Italy, Czech regiments have been struck off the Army List, and others have suffered by being sacrificed in the Isonzo battles. The Australian leaders have never had any doubts as to the feelings of the Czechs in their kingdom, but by means of heavy penalties they have prevented the open breaking away of the nation from the Monarchy. Now, however, the Czechs have lost all patience, and they are using every possible method of accomplishing their aims. The three years of unalloyed repression has had its effect, and though people's memories are proverbially short, it is not likely that these people will soon forget the horrors they have been forced to submit to. Their country has been garrisoned by hostile nationalities, but no amount of pressure could wrest from them any public profession of loyalty to a regime which had plunged them into a war with their dearest kinsmen. The Russian Revolution has a wonderful effect on the Czech and kindred people, for it brought a vision of the freedom of Slav nations, and they have since, with ever-growing emphasis, declared their determination to fight for the right of self-determination. The Czech, Southern Slav and Ukrainian Deputies of the Austrian Parliament were instructed to demand that their elected representatives should attend with Count Czernin in a consultative capacity during the peace negotiations. No one was surprised when the Austrian Premier flatly refused to consider the question. The spirit in which this refusal was made served to strengthen these leaders in their determination to obtain a position whereby they should be able to express their opinion on matters of vital policy. The German-Austrians have naturally made the most of the "reasonable" practices of these races, and have urged that such people were not worthy of consideration. Nothing has availed to intimidate the Czechs, and the words of the leader, Dr. Korosec, represent the feeling of the people as a whole, "if our demand constitutes the

crime of treason, there will never be enough scaffolds to hang all the prisoners." It is a striking fact that as the German party has become steadily less unified, the Czech party has steadily consolidated itself, so that instead of the tendency to split into factions, the classes are working as one man, inspired with this great desire to be free from German and Magyar domination.

The Austrian Emperor tried to condone for the ill deeds of his uncle by granting a political amnesty, but the Czechs have accepted this as an encouragement to them to continue their agitation. The Parliament was opened but the Emperor found that the opposition, instead of diminishing, had become stronger and more unified, and within a short time he found that it was impossible for him to carry out the schemes he had resolved on. At the present time there is no parliament for the Emperor fears the opposition of these races, and dreads the power they will exercise. The next step of the Czechs was to call together a special meeting at Prague on January 18th of this year, an assembly which was truly representative of the Czech nation. The Deputies of the Reichsrath attended, also the leaders, many of whom had been in prison, most of the War, and they were supported by deputies representing everything that is best in the literary and commercial life of Bohemia. That the resolutions were fairly drastic is evident from the fact that the Austrian censor did not permit the publication of one of them. In addition to emphasising the claims they had made in the Austrian parliament, they appear to have declared that the Assembly "no longer recognised the Reichsrath as the supreme political authority, but that until a general Czecho-Slovak Parliament should be free to meet, only the Czech deputies as a whole were qualified to speak for the nation." The opening speech contains the following sentence: "Our Czecho-Slovak nation does not ask for anything save

what every educated and civilised nation claims and defends with its blood. We ask for the union of the Czech nation with the Slovaks, in a state enjoying complete political, economic, and cultural independence, and possessing all the attributes of sovereignty. What is not a crime for others cannot be a crime to us." The resolutions were denounced in the Austrian Cabinet, when the Premier declared that they must be rejected *en bloc* "with indignation by every Austrian and resisted by every Austrian Government with all the means at its disposal." This in outline is the position as it now stands in Bohemia. The Czecho-Slovaks, who are a progressive, democratic people, have set their faces against a return to past conditions, and they realise that it is only in conjunction with the Allies that such a consummation is possible. The promises of the Austrians are like water, as a brief review of their history shows. The wars of the fourteenth century weakened the Bohemians and they were forced to enter into a free union with Austria in order to resist the Turkish menace. But the ambitious Habsburgs, with a view to increasing their own power, opposed themselves to the Reformation movement and soon began to curtail and suppress the national liberties of the Czechs and to Germanise the people. In 1620 the Czechs suffered terrible defeat at the hands of the Austrians and 30,000 Czech families had to leave the country, their properties were confiscated, and Bohemia was left at the mercy of the King's army of adventurers. At one time it appeared as if the whole nation and its language would be wiped out, but at the end of the 18th century there was a strong revival of national feeling, due partly to the humanitarian revolutionary movements spreading over Europe at the time and partly to the efforts of a few Czech patriots. From 1848 this revival took a definite political shape, and a political meeting, the first held for nearly two centuries, was held at Prague at which the Czechs

demanding the restitution of their ancient liberties. The Bohemian Charter was granted by the King, but this period of freedom was followed by one of reaction. In 1859 the Habsburg Monarchy was again forced to adopt a parliamentary form of Government. In 1860 a new Constitution was proclaimed. After the defeat of France in 1870 the Emperor, fearing a new attack by Prussia, pledged himself to acknowledge the autonomy of Bohemia, and be crowned King but owing to the influence of Berlin this promise was never fulfilled. The Czechs responded by refusing to attend Parliament, and the payment of taxes. Further persecution followed, and though certain concessions were granted, the Czechs have never forgiven the perfidy of the Emperor. Promises have been made during the war but the Bohemians know that these promises will never be fulfilled if the Germans and Magyars remain in authority. They have suffered long, but they see the vision of freedom before them. There is only one way in which they can obtain it, and that by uniting themselves with the Allies. They are so geographically placed that much military assistance is not possible, but they are exerting themselves in every political way possible to make the Central Powers fail in their designs. Now that they are assured not only of the sympathy of the Allies, but of their assistance to the end, the Czechs and other subject races will be strengthened in their determination to gain their object. The Emperor has a task before him that is beyond all human powers, and he will increasingly find that, by refusing to listen to the just claims of these people, he has prepared a problem which he will find impossible to solve.

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India's Contributions to the Development of Property Concept

BY


PROF. RADHAKAMAL MUKERJI, M.A.

[Argument : Generalisations relating to property, rising from the intermediate formulæ and forms of particular stages and types, Western and Eastern.

The disturbing influences of a legislation and administration based on the individualistic Romano-Gothic concept of property on the Indian agrarian distribution which in its stratification has been built up by a rich native endowment of communal instincts.

New economic regionalism advocates that rights of property be determined by the agrarian groups.

The contrasts between communalism and Land Nationalisation. India's contributions to a more socialised view of property.]

 THE new economic regionalism which we have advocated demands that the rights of property should be determined and regulated consciously by the groups of agricultural communities which present a solidarity of economic interests. Each of these agrarian groups would promote the harmony of agricultural interests which would be jeopardised by the introduction of an alien, explosive or devastating element into the co-parcenary community. The economic evils or benefits of pre-emption entail or free mortgage can only be determined by the agricultural communities themselves. It is true that the law of demand and supply determines to some extent the delimitation of individual and communal rights in property through the operation of the forces of survival of economic habits and institutions, but social justice can only be attained if this delimita-

tion is raised from an incipient and instinctive basis to a conscious plane in economic construction and legislation.

What light does this generic and comparative study of the institution of property throw upon its content and significance generally? What universal principles can be formulated, and this for economic reconstruction and betterment? They may be enunciated thus :

(1) The content of property rights will vary according to regional needs, or the needs of adaptation to a particular geographical and historic environment.

(2) The different economic groups, agrarian, industrial or commercial should be allowed an opportunity to determine the interests of property in different fields according to their functional and regional needs, the state reserving to itself the imperative right of their correlation and co-ordination.

(3) Instead of being satisfied with the theory that property is a social trust to be administered for the benefit of the community, we have also to look to the means of acquiring property.

(4) The content of property rights is to be measured by the relative estimate of man's productive effort and of the forces of nature to the making of property. Individual freedom with regard to the use and ownership of property is to work within the limits of the health and efficiency of the individual, and the body economic. Individual rights of property exist in virtue of and in subservience to the well-being of the communal personality whose needs are ultimately more compelling than the former. Rights of sale, transfer or mortgage of land will be determined according to the economic and social needs

of different environments, and they will be as various and multiform as the zones of economic activity.

(5) With regard to man's productive effort as emphasising his interest in land, it should be recognised that all labour which is not equivalent to social service cannot give any rights. A mine, a forest, a river-side, a well, an irrigation-channel, an embankment cannot be owned and operated on an exclusively individualistic basis in the interests of an agricultural community.

(6) It will be recognised that corporations which live in perpetuity accumulate property cumulatively in a way that may endanger social peace and they require special control by the State through registration and other means of supervision. It is the same argument that is applicable for the periodical revision of the terms of an endowment which may fall behind economic and social needs not anticipated.

(7) The interests of future generations in property cannot go without recognition, without detriment to the health and efficiency of both individual and society. Family patrimony according to the Hindu law cannot be used and spent in any way to the detriment of sons in minority and they in their turn when they become majors are bound to recognise the legitimate debts of their father. The conflicting claims of national debt and taxation which have arisen by virtue of the financial needs of the present war can only be solved by a due recognition of the rights and responsibilities of the present generation in its active participation in the war which affects it as well as unborn generations.

(8) Rights of inheritance and taxation, wills and testaments are to be regulated by the needs of satisfying natural feelings and sympathies on the one hand and on the other the interests of the community which protects a man's property, makes him what he is, and allows him opportuni-

ties for the full expression of his personality. It will be recognised that a moderate competence for all is essential for the health and active efficiency of the social organism. Excessive wealth accumulated in the hands of few contaminates the social plasm. For the sake of the cells as well as for the sake of the organism, there is need of a proper and equitable distribution of wealth.

(9) For certain imperative duties of the community the maintenance of the incapables and the unfortunates, of inns and hospitals, and schools and churches, the best plan would be not to depend solely on individual charity or on communal rates or taxes, but on the common lands left for society to use them for such purposes. The common lands of the village prevent the growth of absolute destitution and attach the poorest peasant to the soil. Land nationalisation along one line will not be able to satisfy the conditions of a healthy and actively efficient labour because it disturbs the normal reaction of the individual to the natural environment in which he invests his bodily energies. This is the bed-rock of natural and physiological justice on which individual ownership rests.

While recognising the imperative conditions of the use and ownership of private property, communalism seeks to provide for the realisation of common social ends not merely by and through the individually appropriated shares of national wealth or produce but also by creating a common fund of natural and social resources in which to invest concerted energies for the purposes of communal well-being.

Such purposes are defined as in the case of the Debottar used only for the support of temples, mutts, shrines, &c., or they are left undefined as in the case of the village common lands in the Indian economic organisation. These purposes will become various and be multiplied as they will at the same be more social and national in obedience to the development of complex social

needs of to-day. Such an economic scheme is more adaptive and life-maintaining than co-operative colonisation based on individual voluntarism which we had from Owen to Ruskin, and which generally depended upon individually appropriated wealth and its re-distribution for the well-being of community. The recognition of the rights of the communal personality as a separate entity is absent in this scheme. Nor can state-socialism from St. Simon to Bebel with its inspection and inspectors and its disregard of the natural justice involved in individual proprietorship satisfy the ideal. Communalism is thus seen to be a comprehensive ideal which will prevent monopolistic appropriation and exploitation, and at the same time secure the natural and physiological recoupment of individual and social energies necessary for the health and active efficiency of the individual cells and the body economic, which is endangered by schemes of land-nationalisation and state-socialism.

In the re-arrangement of property-rights that is in immediate prospect in the West, the concept of a social personality which is more and more forming an integral part in the development of individual personality will manifest itself in institutional forms, relating to property such as the rich communal instinct of the Indian people has created, for example, *Moosti-bhiksha*, daily offerings for the maintenance of educational and philanthropic institutions, *Britti*, or the tribute for social festivals or for aiding those artisans and traders who have no capital, as well as the village common lands for the maintenance of the school or the guest house, *Brahmottar* gift to the moral and religious teachers of society or the *Debottar* gift to God. These latter depend not on reverence or affection, or individual charity like the former but represent a common fund which has a separate and independent entity of its own as individually appropriated wealth. The social personality which

is not merely the aggregate of individual personalities, ought to have in correspondence with its real nature and status a certain representation in the corpus of the entire national dividend independent of and in addition to the voluntary contributions of wealth owned and operated on an individual proprietary basis.

Not only in the creation of property but also in its use and enjoyment, the expression of personality is the essential factor. Property owes its origin and its continuity to the needs of the development of personality, and the satisfaction of those needs. It is on this ground that state ownership and use of property stand self-condemned. The increase in the machinery of state agencies for the protection of the sick, the aged and incapables, or of philanthropic and charitable institutions which work out average results by mass-methods is essentially a development on the wrong line in as much as instead of evoking personal responses to specific human needs and situations they often curb their natural and spontaneous expression, and substitute machinery for man in the pursuit of a false ideal of efficiency which is wasteful and inefficient as measured by vital and human values. Communalism seeks to develop individual personality by adopting the methods of individual voluntarism regulated not by externally imposed laws but by internal perception of social and moral traditions. Communalism gives opportunities for the free expression of natural feelings and human sympathies by importing the intimacies of personal relationships into the social organisation. Communalism educes the social personality that is latent in every member of society by providing for it an outer embodiment which exercises proprietary functions of its own in the exclusive direction of social service, functions which are as real and concrete as those of individual proprietorship and set the ideal for the latter.


THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A. . .

CHAPTER VII .

SECTION I. THE MAKING OF BENGALI PROSE

VIDYASAGAR

 HIS age is remarkable in the history of Bengali literature on account of its unprecedented fertility, ratiocinative spirit, originality and harmony. The rising taste in Bengal found its appropriate nutriment in England. The sympathy and encouragement which the rising literature of Bengal received at the hands of its rulers urged it by leaps and bounds towards the realisation of its goal. The great change in our literature is due to English influence. The copious flood of English literature saturated the ground and prepared it for the production of a richer harvest yet to be garnered. The English mind filtered through the mind of Vidyasagar and was transmuted "into something rich and strange" in Michael and Bankim. It is for this fact as well as for his greatness that Vidyasagar is the best introduction to the literature of the Victorian era. Born in humble circumstances far away in a hamlet in the district of Midnapore, he rose to the height of glory after which even more favoured persons may well aspire. His father was Thakurdas Chatterjee, a poor man struggling with his humble lot in life. Vidyasagar was born in 1820 at Birsinha. After finishing his study at the village school, Vidyasagar came to Calcutta where his father was earning only Rs. 8 a month. He was admitted into the Sanskrit College where with great assiduity and hard labour, he stood first in all examinations and won handsome scholarships in all. At the age of twenty he finished his collegiate education and secured the highest academic laurels with the title of Vidyasagar (ocean of learning). He was appointed Professor in the Fort William College and then in the Sanskrit College of which he rose to be the Principal, but owing to a difference of opinion, he resigned and devoted himself to the service of his country as a great

writer and powerful social reformer. From this time began the most fruitful period in Vidyasagar's literary life.

It is now admitted on all hands that class privilege in the educational system is a calamity rather than a blessing. This ancient mode was still prevalent when Vidyasagar came to occupy the chair of the Principal of the Sanskrit College. He removed it and allowed every Hindu without any distinction to taste the sweet fruits of Sanskrit lore in the great academy of Sanskrit learning. The educational ideal of Vidyasagar was modern to the very core of it. Though a great votary of Sanskrit learning himself, Vidyasagar early realised the fact that the salvation of Bengal lay in English education. Leaving aside all narrow prejudices, he established the Metropolitan Institution (now the Vidyasagar College) in Calcutta in 1864 for the higher education of his countrymen at the cheapest rate of College fees. What we see in Bengal to-day is chiefly the work of this great man.

He rendered yeoman's service to the cause of Bengali literature and his influence was considerable in making it what it is at the present day. Since his time many changes have taken place in the domain of literature. The most distinguishing feature in Bengali literature now is its increased nationality. Literature was without any local environment in Vidyasagar's days. He was the undisputed sovereign of the world of prose. He was the maker of it. We had poetry, good poetry indeed, before him but practically speaking no prose. Chandidas has no rival in these days when Bengal is a nest of singing birds. Vidyasagar took the path still open to him. As time advanced there was a necessity for a good prose literature—a literature that could be wielded for manifold purposes of practical importance. It was Vidyasagar that gave nobility to the stiff and cut and dried form of the language in those

days. Some undue and hard criticism is sometimes laid on Vidyasagar.

Before Vidyasagar Bengali prose was encumbered with the cumbrous Sanskritic garb. He came and the wooden stilts broke down. Bengali literature was under a ban of monotony. Vidyasagar took it away. He cleansed and refined many literary blemishes by turning the fresh fountain-water of his genius through them. Not only did he occupy himself with literature in its higher aspects—in writing a good style and enriching the Bengali tongue with the precious gems of Sanskrit literature but he paved the way for others to learn Bengali easily by introducing the first primer series in Bengali. He thus inaugurated a new era in the educational system and deserves the thankful remembrance of all.

The very first fruit of his genius was *Basudev Charit* in which he strikes the very key-note of a new style so different from the cumbrous unintelligible style of the Sanskrit scholars who were the principal writers of Bengali of his own day. That a man like Vidyasagar who was an out and out Sanskrit scholar, should deviate from the beaten track and write in an altogether novel fashion, was a wonder to all. He was very often ridiculed by the orthodox section of writers for the simplicity and intelligibility of his language. His *Sitar Banabas* and *Shakuntala* are the classics of our language and present a perfect style of expression. His *Vrantibilas* is a translation of Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors." The two former are also translations of Kalidasa's *Betal Panchashati* and *Utter Ram Charit* of Bhababhuti. But in these he has proved himself to be a consummate master of the language. The beauty of the original works has not been impaired. He had a special skill in presenting his translations with a tinge of originality. He shares with Edward Fitzgerald a lasting reputation as a "precipitator of the soul of the original with a success no literary renderer ever has succeeded in rivalling."

We cannot leave this portion of his life without making some remarks on Vidyasagar as a man. The principal ornaments which embellished the moral being of Vidyasagar was a staunch devotion to duty which distinguished him when he entered the arena of public life. 'Nothing could daunt the ungovernable and innate force' of this man. Difficulties added strength to him. They kindled his genius which glowed under the surface of his rugged and ungainly exterior and would burst like pent-up fire under the subterranean rocks to the wonder and amazement of all. Sincerity was his principal mode. To himself first of all he was true and thus he could not be false to any man. Everything he uttered or did had an undisputable air of truth. Sweet native gracefulness of temper, gentleness of spirit and the trembling pity of a woman were all in him. His tender heart was moved with pity and sympathy at the sight of the hopeless young girl-widow as yet unknown to the pleasures of life and sweets of the world. She was a considerable phenomenon in the social life of Vidyasagar. It was for her he fought and it was for her he struggled. The splendid work he wrote in support of the widow re-marriage shows Vidyasagar in his best. Here he was free. Cogent reasoning, vast erudition and tremendous force have all been brought to bear upon his subject. The style is fascinating, the language is racy and the remarks are pointed in a remarkable degree. Though he was baffled at every step, he succeeded in convincing the Government of the necessity of a special law for the improvement of the social condition of the people. A permissive law was passed and Vidyasagar won the victory. He was ridiculed on all sides. Social opprobrium fell upon him. But he snapped his finger at it and devoted his energy to 'the mission of his life. He died in 1891 A.D.

(To be continued.)

TWO INDIAN SCIENTISTS

I. SIR J. C. BOSE*

PARENTAGE

JAGADISH Chander was born of an ancient and respectable family of Bikrampur, a village in Dacca, the Muslim capital of Bengal. His father the late Bhagwan Chander Bose, who was a Sub-divisional Officer at Faridpur, trained his son with great care and gave him the education which he thought best. He, accordingly, sent his son not to an English school, but to a village pathasala to study with the common folk of the soil.

EARLY EDUCATION

Dr. Bose was sent only to an old-fashioned village pathasala. "I now realise," says Sir J. C. Bose, "the object of my being sent at the most plastic period of my life to the vernacular school, where I was to learn my own language, to think my own thoughts and to receive the heritage of our national culture through the medium of our own literature. I was thus to consider myself one with the people and never to place myself in an equivocal position of assumed superiority."

STUDY AT CAMBRIDGE

Mr. Bose watched his son's educational progress with keen interest. When Jagadish graduated himself from St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, he had a strong desire to go over to England and read for the Civil Service Examination. This was the tempting path lying wide open to him. He sought the approval of his father for his ambitious scheme. But Bhagwan Chunder would not allow him to do so. Though an able and just administrator himself, he had no intention of sending up his son for that kind of work. He foresaw like a prophet the great possibilities lying in the womb of the future. He wished him, therefore, to be a scholar—of what fame, he left to the future to unfold. "When later I wished to go to Europe," says Sir J.C.

Bose, "and to compete for the Indian Civil Service, his refusal as regards that particular career was absolute. I was to rule nobody but myself. I was to be a scholar not an administrator."

He longed to get a scientific education in England; as nothing stood in his way, he went over to Cambridge and passed his B. A. examination in 1884 from the Christ College. Next year he secured the B. Sc. degree from the London University and returned to Calcutta.

HIS LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF SCIENCE

Though Dr. Bose got the Professorship of Physics in the Presidency College, he could not obtain any facilities to carry on his researches. "When I first came," Sir Jagadish said, "there was no laboratory worth the name in the Presidency College. I had to work in my private laboratory." Yet the new professor never lost heart.

He began writing a series of scientific articles as early as 1895. His first contribution was on "the Polarisation of Electric Ray by a Crystal." It was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, in May, 1895.

Then followed two articles about Electricity which were published in the *Electrician*, the leading electrical journal, in the same year.

Now came the turning point in his scientific career, and that was the result of his essay on the "Determination of the Indices of Electric Refraction." The Royal Society at once appreciated the highly scientific value of the research. It was then considered a high honour to a scientist to have his essay published by the Royal Society in its journal. They not only published the paper, but did great honour to the Indian scientist by offering him "a subsidiary from the Parliamentary grant made to the Society for the advancement of science." This was indeed a unique honour, and we have it from Prof. Bose himself that: "Two years after the Royal Society had offered a grant to me for the continuation of my work, the Government of Bengal came forward and

* Condensed from a sketch prepared for the "Eminent Indians Series" published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras. Price 4 As.

offered me some facilities. No Government could afford to spend money on prospective geniuses."

In the year 1896 he sent the result of his research to the Royal Society which had lent such a helping hand to his noble cause. The learned Society was literally amazed at the important contribution made by him for the advancement of science. Then the University of London came forward to pay homage to the great Indian savant and conferred on him the Degree of Doctor of Science.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY

A devoted apostle of science, Dr. Bose now turned his attention in another direction. The possibility of transmitting electric telegraphic signals through space without the use of wires that run directly from the transmitting to the receiving instrument engaged the attention of three master-minds of the world at one and the same time—Professor Marconi of Bologna University, a great scientist of America and Dr. Bose in India. This has not been the only occasion when great scientists of different places have been deeply engaged in solving one of the greatest riddles. Now, these three men of science were driving hard at how to transmit electric telegraphic signals. And it was Dr. Bose who first clearly demonstrated it. So far back as 1895, at an experimental demonstration in the Calcutta Town Hall in the presence of the Governor, he transmitted ether wave through a solid wall and a line of men and made it displace a heavy weight, ring a bell and explode a miniature mine placed in a closed room.

LECTURES BEFORE THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

For a scientist, to be asked to deliver lectures on his own researches before the Royal Institution rendered famous by the works of Davey and Faraday, is a signal honour. But Dr. Bose was thrice asked to give discourses on his momentous discoveries.

It was in 1897 that he was first asked to deliver before the Royal Society the Friday evening discourse. He acquitted himself very creditably and spoke on electrical waves.

Four years later he delivered his second Friday evening discourse before the same august body. He demonstrated this time fully and elaborately the identical nature of reactions in plant and animal. He was invited again, in 1915, to deliver for the third time another Friday evening discourse.

LECTURES IN PARIS

It must be mentioned here that in 1900, he was sent by Sir John Woodburn the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Government of India to represent this country at the Paris Congress of Science and he acquitted himself so well that by universal consent it was declared that he had shed lustre on the Government which chose him and the country he represented. A little later he was invited to deliver a series of lectures at Paris on his new discoveries. The first lecture was given before the Society De Physique, the Second at the Saiborne, the third before the Society De Zoologique. He was elected about the year 1902 to the Council of the Society Francaise De Physique.

HIS TOUR ROUND THE WORLD

We referred to Dr. Bose's third Friday evening discourse. He was also invited by the Oxford University to deliver a series of lectures. In June he addressed the Cambridge University. Both Prof. Seward who was in the chair and Sir Francis Darwin spoke in memorable terms of the completeness of the demonstrations provided by his instruments. Interest was so keen that the Botanical department of Cambridge imported soil from India to give Dr. Bose's plants the most favourable conditions for exhibiting their specific reactions. Professor Starling, Oliver and Carreth Read were also deeply impressed with the demonstrations. Mr. Balfour paid his laboratory a long visit and was much struck with the significance of Dr. Bose's discoveries to psychologists. On the 27th June Prof. Bose gave an address illustrated by experiments before a meeting of savants at Vienna. Prof. Molisch, the Director of the Pflagen Physiologisches of the Imperial University of Vienna, while proposing a vote of thanks said that Europe was indebted to

India for the method of investigation initiated by Dr. Bose.

Prof. Bose visited America also during this tour. He was flooded with invitations from Maine to California. Learned bodies such as the New York Academy of Science, the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and of Sciences, the Harvard, the Columbia and the Chicago Universities listened with delight to him and presented him with addresses.

HONOUR IN INDIA

Though a prophet is seldom respected in his own country Dr. Bose has received ample recognition in India. The University of Calcutta paid him due homage and conferred upon him the title of Doctor of Science.

The Punjab University also expressed its deep appreciation of his novel scientific discoveries by inviting him, in 1913, to deliver a course of three lectures illustrated with experiments.

THE MASTER-DISCOVERY

Now, what is the discovery of Sir Jagadish Bose, which has created so much noise in the scientific world? It is that discovery which has conclusively proved that "there is no sharp dividing line between the nervous life of plants and animals, and in one respect it seems that the life of the plant *Mimosa* exactly reproduces the life-history of human nations."

Now, what was the prevailing theory with respect to plants in the scientific world? The universally accepted theory has been that in plants like the *Mimosa* there was no transmission of excitation analogous to the nervous transmission in the animal, the propagated effect being considered as a mere hydro-mechanical disturbance. This theory was based on the experiments successfully carried out by the famous German plant-physiologists, Pfeffer and Haberlandt. On account of the eminent position held by the German scholars, the theory propounded by Dr. Bose before the Royal Institution about fifteen years ago, received but little acknowledgment from the other plant-physiologists of the West.

But Sir Jagadish Chander's investigation has upset the hitherto universally accepted theory and has successfully demonstrated the identical nature of the nervous impulse in the plant and animal. The success of the new research is largely due to the invention of a new apparatus of extreme sensibility. It is so delicately constructed as to enable the plant to record automatically its perception of stimulus and the speed of its nervous impulse.

This new apparatus, Sir Jagadish calls the Resonant Recorder. So extraordinarily delicate is this new instrument that by its means it is possible to record a time interval as short as the thousandth part of the duration of a single beat of the heart.

The researches of Dr. Bose have brought to light many of the activities which we have been accustomed to associate only with animal life. Suppose we give a blow to the plant, how long will it take to perceive the blow and give an answering signal? The time has been found to be six-hundredth part of a second. This period is subject to modification as in the animal under special conditions. Thus, under fatigue, the period is considerably prolonged; after a severe shock it is said to remain dazed for a long time. Moreover, in summer, the speed of nervous impulse has been found to be about 30 millimetres per second. But it may increase under warmth and decrease under cold.

Again Dr. Bose has succeeded in arresting the nervous impulse of the plant by interposing an electric block, in a manner similar to the corresponding arrest in the animal nerve.

Intoxicating liquor produces the same effect in plants as in animals. When Dr. Bose poured out a little poison on the plant, the record showed an astonishing result. The speed of nervous impulse instantly decreased.

Professor Bose has also proved that the trees begin to sleep at 12 P.M. and get up at 8 A.M., in the morning, like the civilized nations of the world. The illustration of the death of a plant and also the reversal of the stimulus at the time of death, was lucidly explained.

In establishing these facts with experiments, Dr. Bose has to criticise the prevailing opinions of the great German scholars and totally upset their theories.

THE EFFECT OF THIS DISCOVERY

In the near future the discovery "would mean an advance," in the words of Sir J. C. Bose, "of a revolutionary character in the science of Physiology, of Medicine and of Agriculture." This opinion has been endorsed by the famous scientific journal "The Lancet," which speaks highly of the biological importance of Professor Bose's discovery:

"The study of responsive reactions in plants must be regarded as of fundamental importance to the elucidation of various phenomena relating to the irritability of living tissues."

PLANT RESPONSE

In his monumental work "Plant Response," published in the year 1906, he has recorded a series of wonderful discoveries which evoked considerable enthusiasm and admiration in the scientific world. There we find him dealing with and proving beyond any shade of doubt, his discoveries.

GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION

The Government of India were at first very slow in recognising Dr. Bose's services to the cause of Science. It was only after the Royal Society honoured him that they began to help him in various little ways and in 1900 sent him up to the Congress of Science at Paris. They conferred the distinction of C. I. E. in 1903 and at the time of the Coronation in 1911 they conferred on him the title of C.S.I. When Sir J. C. Bose returned in 1916 from America the Government of Bengal arranged for a Sheriff's meeting to offer him a welcome and in 1917, the knighthood was conferred on him.

HIS LATEST TRIUMPHS

At a recent experiment in Calcutta he first rendered the trees unconscious by the action of suitable narcotics and thus saved the two trees from the shock due to uprooting. Now, as they were planted again, they are growing vigorously.

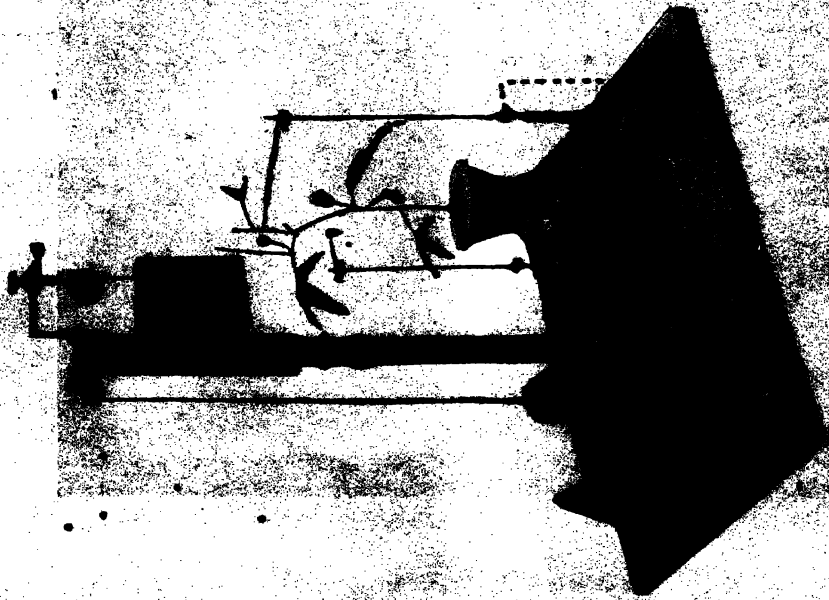
Another triumph of Sir Jagadish was the High Magnification Crescograph. This is one of his unique inventions. It can magnify and record the growth of plants in as short a period as a single second. The highest power of the microscope stands dwarfed by its side by many thousand times. This instrument, will, no doubt, bring about a revolution in the scientific world, specially in the agricultural department. The high magnification attained by it varies from ten thousand to a million times. A few months ago, the peculiar date palm-tree of Faridpur, attracted the attention of Dr. Bose. This tree, it was reported, lay down in the evening when the temple bells called the people to prayer and again in the morning stood erect. He sent his pupils with his own apparatus to examine it. It is believed that the result will help him in his researches. The result will be published in the "Bose Institute Transactions."

THE BOSE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

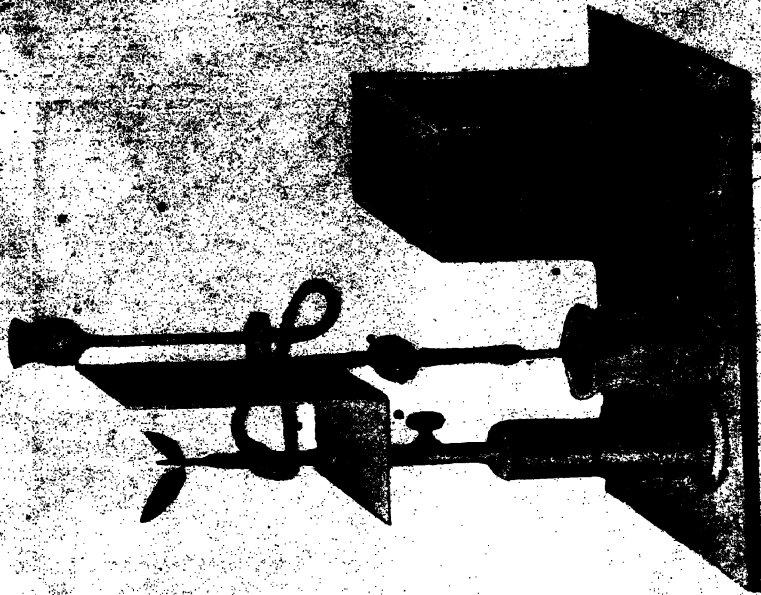
The Bose Research Institute which Dr. Bose has founded will be a lasting monument of his greatness. Dr. Bose had felt from very early days the extreme difficulties due to the absence of well-equipped laboratories in India.

In November 1916, Dr. Bose opened the Research Institute. It was done with due ceremony and the speech he delivered in dedicating it to the nation is one of the finest of his public utterances. The address bespeaks a scientific mystic carrying on his brows "the calm wisdom of his Vedic heritage." Dr. Bose is seen in it to be not merely the scientist searching truth with many a sigh, with his eye fixed on the minutest accuracies of detail but also as a dreamer and idealist. We catch a glimpse of the very soul of the East and hear the saintly accents of renunciation in words like these:—

"Not in matter but in thought, not in possession but in ideals are to be found the seeds of immortality. Not through material acquisition but in generous diffusion of ideas and ideals can the true empire of humanity be established."



Dr. Bose's delicate instrument to record the response of plants to stimuli.



Dr. Bose's instrument to study pulsation of leaflets by action of different chemicals.

By the courtesy of "Indian Industries and Power."

II. DR. P. C. RAY*

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

DR. Prafulla Chandra Ray was born in 1861 at Raruli-Katipara, a small village now in the District of Khulna, of a family well-known for generations in that part of Bengal. His father, the late Harish Chandra Ray, who died in 1894 at the age of 69—a good Persian scholar imbued with the writings of Sadi and Hafiz—was a student of the Krishnagur College in the early forties of the last century, when the celebrated Captain D. L. Richardson was its Principal. He was a well-read man who held enlightened views on many social questions and was a pioneer in introducing English education in his own district. The local Model Vernacular School, which was founded and maintained mainly at the expense of the late Harish Chandra Ray, has now grown into a Model English High School, and is located in the very ancestral house of Dr. Ray, for the up-keep of which he spends annually a handsome amount.

EDUCATION

Dr. Ray received his early training at his father's school; but his father, anxious that his son should receive the best possible education, settled down at Calcutta towards the end of 1870. Young Prafulla Chandra was admitted as a pupil of the Hare School immediately and was there for four years. He then took his admission into the Albert School of Calcutta, then in the heyday of its glory under the rectorship of the late Krishna Vihari Sen, and here he at once made his mark as a brilliant student. From Krishna Vihari young Prafulla Chandra also imbibed a deep and abiding love of English literature. At this time, he was a constant listener to the lectures and sermons of Keshub Chandra Sen, and was slowly attracted to the Brahmo Samaj of which he has been a member since 1882. At this period of his life (about

1875-77), he also caught the enthusiasm inspired by the eloquence of the late Ananda Mohan Bose and Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and felt the impulses of a higher patriotic life.

From 1879 to 1882, he was a student of the Metropolitan Institution. In 1882, Ray proceeded to England as a Gilchrist Scholar and studied at Edinburgh for six years. At Edinburgh, he was the pupil of the celebrated Peter Guthrie Tait and of Alexander Crum Brown—two mighty intellects in the departments of physical science and chemistry—and through their teachings he shortly came to be devotedly attached to the study of chemistry.

"INDIA BEFORE THE MUTINY"

Although Chemistry literally claimed him as her own, Dr. Ray still continued to be a close student of English politics and of Indian Economics. His *Essay on India before and after the Mutiny*, written on the eve of his appearance for the B. Sc. Examination at Edinburgh, bears impress of mature study of Indian problems. The essay was warmly appreciated at the time, and principal Sir William Muir pronounced it as "bearing marks of rare ability." The leading newspaper of the Scottish capital, the *Scotsman*, observed: "It is a most interesting little volume, and we do not profess to wonder in the least that it has earned a considerable amount of popularity. It contains information in reference to India which will not be found elsewhere, and it is of the utmost notice."

PROFESSOR

On his return to India he joined the Presidency College of Calcutta as a Professor, and since that year (1889) he has practically confined all his attention to his chemical researches. The results of his devotion at the Chemical Laboratory of this College, particularly in the years between 1896-1898, were embodied in his first scientific publication under the title of "Chemical Research at the Presidency College," and it at once established his reputation as a great Indian scientist. In 1904, he was deputed by the Government of Bengal to visit the principal chemical laboratories of Europe and was

* Condensed from a sketch prepared for the Biographies of Eminent Indians Series. Price 4 As. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

everywhere received with open arms by chemists and savants. At a meeting of the French Academy of Sciences, Mr. Troost welcomed Dr. Ray in words of generous appreciation on behalf of that august body.

A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY

The story of the foundation and growth of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works reads like a romance. He had to fight against enormous odds in laying deep the foundation of this business. "The Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works had its birth," observed its founder, "and early struggles in the dark and dingy rooms of a house in Upper Circular Road, and it started with the modest sum of Rs. 800." It was about twenty-six years ago that Dr. Ray launched this new industry. Though he was then a Professor of the Presidency College, his income only amounted to Rs. 250 a month. With this meagre income, he worked wonders in the field of industry.

Thus the Company, originally started as a small private concern for the manufacture of medicines and other chemical preparations, has now rapidly increased its many-sided activities. Year after year the Company made large strides and now it stands as one of the most successful industries in India. "With the recent expansions which have already been taken in hand, it will soon cover an area of 24 bighas (8 acres) and its present capital of 5 lacs will have to be doubled with a view to the installation of new plant." As we have said before, the Company was at first a private concern, but as the field of its activity began to expand rapidly, Dr. Ray did not think it proper to keep the whole income to himself. His patriotism prompted him to make it a limited company, throwing open its shares to all.

As Dr. Travers of the Indian Scientific Institute said the Bengal Chemical Works is a piece of research work of which Professor Ray and Mr. C. Bhaduri ought to be proud. In the words of the same authority, "the construction and management of the works is the work of the past students from the chemistry department of

the Presidency College, acting under the advice of these gentlemen. The design and construction of the sulphuric acid plant and of the plant required for the preparation of drugs and other products involved a large amount of research work of the kind which is likely to be of the greatest service to this country, and does the greatest credit to those concerned."

LITERARY INTERESTS

Dr. Ray is a man of many interests. He has not been content with only building up an industrial concern but takes a keen interest in Bengali literature and is himself a careful student of it. Ten years ago he was called upon to preside over the Provincial Literary Conference in which he read a remarkable paper on the "Place of Science in Literature."* He has contributed many articles to several Bengali periodicals, besides writing occasionally to the *Indian World*.

Of Shakespeare, Dr. Ray is immoderately fond and is never tired of reading and re-reading the great English Classic. Emerson, Carlyle, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius have deeply tinged his life. His favourite novels are those of Thackeray, George Eliot and Dickens,—he cannot tolerate any present-day novelists—not even Hall Caine or Marie Correlli.

DR. RAY'S RESEARCHES AND DISCOVERIES

It was in December, 1895, that Dr. Ray rose to fame and became known to the scientific world by his celebrated discovery of mercurous nitrite. In his presidential address delivered before the Asiatic Society in 1896, Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Pedler said:—"Dr. P. C. Ray, by his discovery of the method of preparation of this compound, has filled up a blank in our knowledge of the mercury series."

Among the famous chemists of Europe, Sir Henry Roscoe and M. Berthelot were the first to congratulate Dr. Ray and welcome his discovery.

* "Essays and Discourses" by Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ray, O.E. Price Rs. 3. G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Mercurous nitrite has proved to be the fruitful parent of an interesting series of compounds, and during the last 22 years Dr. Ray singly or in co-operation with his pupils has been incessantly busy in working them up.

• "HISTORY OF HINDU CHEMISTRY"

We have not space here to notice more in detail the contributions of Dr. Ray to the chemical world. But no review of his life and work can be complete without a reference to his monumental work, "*The History of Hindu Chemistry*," in which he has completely proved to the world at large, by reference to old Sanskrit texts, the antiquity of the knowledge of chemistry in this country. M. Berthelot, the illustrious French Chemist, reviewed the first volume of the work at considerable length in the columns of the "*Journal des Savants*." We quote the concluding lines:

A new and interesting chapter has been added to the history of sciences and of human thought.

AS A TEACHER AND FOUNDER OF A SCHOOL OF CHEMISTRY

Dr. Ray has been loved and adored by his students very much in the ancient Indian spirit. On the eve of his retirement from the Presidency College, his students presented him with an address of farewell.

Dr. Ray has always reciprocated the love of his students, and it has been his practice for some years past to invite some of his advanced pupils to take part in his research work. As the fascination grows, these young aspirants become devoted to the cause of original investigation and stick to the work. Year after year, their number has been increasing till practically a school of chemists has now been established in Calcutta without any fuss or ado. We can measure the success of Dr. Ray's school when we see that the journals of chemistry now-a-days contain rather frequent contributions of genuine merit either from him or his pupils whom he has literally trained and inspired. The May and August numbers for 1911, of the *Transactions of the Chemical Society*, London, contain simultaneously five contributions from him and his pupils. Scarcely a month elapses without some additional discoveries

of his or his pupils. His own contributions up-to-date have been close upon eighty, and his work has thrown a flood of light on the chemical constitution of many of the more important compounds of nitrites. Professor Sylvain Levi of Paris remarked in the course of his review of the "*History of Hindu Chemistry*," "*that his laboratory is the nursery from which issue forth the chemists of new India.*"

Dr. Ray has attained fame and has rendered services to the cause of knowledge of which he and his countrymen may well be proud. But he values no part of his work more than the training of the disciples who have been attracted to him by his magnetic personality. He observed in a recent speech at Madras that, talking of his disciples, he was reminded of the Great Mother of those immortal Romans who said that her children, the two Gracchi, were her richest glory. He quotes too with an exalted humility the ancient saying of our scriptures: "Men should desire victory everywhere; but they should covet defeat at the hands of their pupils."

DR. RAY ON SOCIAL REFORM

Besides a scholar and patriot, Dr. Ray has also been a warm social reformer. His countrymen marked their appreciation of him by voting him to preside over the Indian National Social Conference of 1917 held at Calcutta.

• DR. RAY'S POLITICS

He is passionately opposed to doing anything which would impair national solidarity and has strongly deprecated the tendencies, wherever found, in the conduct of whatever party it may be, of weakening such solidarity. His remarks on Sir William Wedderburn, made at a memorial meeting held at Calcutta, are sure to be of interest in this connection:—

The ultimate moral justification of England's rule over India is not *Pax-Britannica*, not even the economic prosperity of the country, but the preparation of Indian people for Self-Government. If that end is lost sight of in the pursuit of any subsidiary advantage or improvement, the British policy in India will miss its true goal. Its history will be a record of huge failure, a record of immense preparations without the fruition.

UNIVERSITY LECTURES

In February 1918 the Madras University invited him to deliver a course of lectures on Ancient Hindu Chemistry. Dr. Ray's addresses, it need hardly be said, were very much appreciated by his audience. It is characteristic of the selflessness of the man that, with the honorarium which the University paid to him, he endowed a prize in memory of the late Sir William Wedderburn to be awarded to the student who showed the highest capacity of scholarship or research in chemistry.

HIS CHARITY

Mr. Padmini Mohan Neogi, writing of him in the *Indian World*, speaks of his philanthropy in these feeling words :—

We who have had occasions to know the influences that are working upon young Bengal, can make bold to anticipate that his goodness, his charity and inspiration if nothing else, will ever be a household topic from the centre of the metropolis to the distant corners of Bengal where the benign torch of education has been carried. Uneventful as his life has been, free from the bustle of the pompous follies of society, single in his life, his is yet an eventful life—events not like the passing of a bill in a legislature, or the foundation of a memorial institute, or a bountiful donation for a Rai Bahadurship, but simple tears of orphans, of aspirant but indigent youngmen, of the high or the low or the warfare of an acid with a metal or the friendship of an acid with a base. How often have we seen wretched youngmen, wretched on account of poverty, going up into his laboratory room where they laid bare their heavy bosoms, and he the father of them all, fondling with all the affection as though they were his own. Of all charities, he often says, mere money-giving is the least; sympathy, kind words, gentle judgments, a friendly pressure of weary hands, an encouraging smile will frequently outweigh a mint of coin. Bear this in mind, we have often heard him say, selfishness is the real root of all the evil in the world; people are too isolated, too much wrapped up in their individual rights, interests and enjoyments. The first person singular is the God of the Age.

CHARACTERISTICS

Severely simple and ascetic in disposition, Dr. Ray has given the best part of his life to build up character among his students and inspire them with the love of knowledge for its own sake. He may have had his disappointments, but he has done more to inculcate the wisdom of plain living and high thinking than perhaps any other man now living in Bengal. A few racks of books, a miserable-looking and antiquated bedstead, an

eighteenth-century table, with a few old-fashioned chairs form all his earthly belongings; and though he has been to England thrice, he has acquired none of the arts of grace and fashion of modern life. His dress is simple and his personal appearance seems so neglected. It has been often embarrassing to his visitors to recognise the man whose greatness had induced them to catch a glimpse of him.

Prafulla Chandra Ray is not only one of Bengal's greatest sons but is also one of Nature's truest gentlemen—every inch of him. Though a man of very strong convictions, he has hardly made an enemy in his life. He has held aloft the banner in Bengal of Mathew Arnold's culture and sweet reasonableness. He cherishes no jealousy, entertains no malice. Even when he differs from anybody, he imputes no motives nor attempts to throw any mud at his opponents. He is frankness and cordiality almost to everybody, and never plays with any cards in his sleeves. When he fights, he fights with gloves off. In all his private and public dealings, he is most scrupulously honest and above board. He believes in a clean and pure life and has himself lived up to this ideal. Sparing as an eater, a talker and correspondent, he has not allowed many distractions to disturb the even tenour and equanimity of his life. The work in the laboratory is certainly the most fascinating and engrossing work of Dr. Ray's life, but, besides a scholar and savant, he has also many social attractions. He has a warm corner in his heart for many friends to whose homes he pays regular visits and with whom he always keeps himself in intimate touch.

CONCLUSION

Dr. Ray will rank in our history as one of the greatest of those who have helped in building up the edifice of modern India. His name stands along with that of Sir J. C. Bose as evidence of the genius of the Indian mind for scientific research. It is the most hopeful sign of our renaissance that it is not confined to one or two aspects of life only but is universal and all-embracing.

THE LOST KEY

BY

SRIMATI SVARNA KUMARI DEVI (MRS. GHOSAL)

IT was Sunday morning.

*Sukumar Chakraburty was to be married on the night of the following Sunday, so the ceremonies of taking the auspicious bath and the blessed rice—the necessary preliminaries of a Hindu marriage—had to be performed to-day, a day of festivity in the house of the Chakraburty family and of the village of Bonagram.

Ever since Sukumar had come home after his B. A. examination he had looked forward to this happy event, the event that with great pomp and show would proclaim him a hero and the husband of a pretty little girl.

How happy and delighted he looked !

Is it not a great thing to marry young, when life, being without bitter experiences and sad responsibilities, is full only of joy and excitement? It is impossible then for a man to see anything beyond the narrow flight of youthful imagination, so he enters upon the voyage of matrimony as if it were only a pleasure trip. And it was thus with our hero, who had not as yet tasted of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge. He was simple and inexperienced, and might well be called "a mere boy," for he was only seventeen. And sweet, too, was his disposition, also sanguine and imaginative. So he felt very excited and joyful over the inaugural festivities that heralded his marriage.

With his highly-strung imagination and excitable brain he had lain awake almost the whole of the previous night, till, at last, he knew not when, sleep had come upon him slowly and silently, and he had closed his eyes for a short time.

And then he had dreamt that he had lost his Key.

It was a strange dream, indeed, but not altogether disconnected with reality, for to it was

attached a long-forgotten tale. Almost ten years before, when Sukumar was a little boy of seven he had lost his key. It was the key of a Japanese toy-box which he had received from his uncle on his previous birthday. It acted like magic on his imagination, and he was charmed with it. The key of the box was silvery white, and keeping it always hidden in his pocket, he would allow no one even to touch it. That, of course, did not prevent him from opening the box himself. On the contrary, a thousand times a day he would take out the key and open and re-open the box with keen pleasure; and every time, afterwards, he would put the key carefully back in its hiding place, and the inevitable consequence was, that one day he found to his great dismay, that the key of the box was missing.

Alas ! Poor boy ! The key was as precious to him as the fabled gem worth seven kings' kingdoms. His grief was great and inconsolable. Even the box itself lost its charm in his eyes without the key. His mother, who was then living, had caused another box exactly like the first one, to be brought for him all the way from Calcutta. But the new box did not please or comfort him much.

At first he liked it a little, but soon he became tired of it, even disgusted with it. It had so many faults ! It was not so nice and small, or may-be it was a little smaller, than the first box. And the key was not so silvery white, or perhaps it was a little more or less glossy than the lost key. Thousands of small discoveries like these made him hate this new toy, and soon he found a means to dispose of it.

He had a playmate whose name was also Sukumar, and he made a gift of this box to his friend, who was a few months older than himself. In Bengal it is customary to call elder brothers

and intimate friends "Dada," so Sukumar called his friend Suk-da. And in order to distinguish the one from the other, we too will call the elder Sukumar by the name of Suk.

Suk accepted the present with pleasure, and to show his gratitude, took the lost key out of his pocket and presented it to Sukumar. At the sight of it, Sukumar's face brightened with delight, but a moment later, he was full of anger and indignation :—

"My lost key, indeed!" he exclaimed with disgust. "And so it is you who took it and have kept it hidden all this time! Surely you are not returning it to me!"

"But here it is," said Suk, with the air of a superior person. "Take it. You would not have got it even now, if I had not chosen to give it to you."

This was very true. And it was certainly very generous of his friend to offer it to him now! So the boy thought; and he felt happy and grateful when he took the key from his dear Suk-da.

Strange indeed that this sad incident of his childhood, which had slipped from his memory for so long, should appear to him in the form of a vision on the dawn of this auspicious day! Of course the dream was a little different from the reality as every dream must be. The lost key was silvery white, and the key of his dream was of a golden colour. And he had received the lost key back again, while in the midst of his search for his dream-key, he had been awakened by sweet music of the Rasanchowky*.

Sukumar awoke and was glad to know that it was only a dream. Nevertheless he felt sad. The sweet Sahana tune† blending in harmony and gradation, rose fuller and richer and touched his inmost heart. Tears gathered slowly in his

eyes—he knew not why—and rolled down his cheeks.

But who was that?—Who was standing before his dreamy eyes? It was no other than the dearest friend of his childhood—his Suk-da. Like darkness disappearing before the sun, the gloom of his heart melted into delight at the sight of his beloved friend. He sprang from the bed and ran to him, crying :—

"Halloa! Suk da! This is indeed a happy morning!"

He seized his friend's hand, shook it with boyish delight, and making a captive of it, went back to his bed, drawing Suk-da after him. Thus the morning dawned for our hero with a sad dream and a pleasant reality.

Was it a good or a bad omen?

II.

My readers are aware that Sukumar had already passed the great ordeal of the B.A. examination, and very bravely and successfully, too. He was expecting before long to receive the degree of honour, the coveted distinction of so many elder students. It was indeed very creditable for one so young, and showed what fine intellectual stuff he was made of.

But would this world of ours be induced by these facts to give him a seat on the same bench with its so-called wise men? Was he not too artless and simple to obtain this honour? Was it not natural that he should be looked upon with suspicion by the wise men, and with pleasure by the foolish ones? In the eyes of the latter he was, indeed, goodness incarnate. And they were not wrong.

The purity of his thoughts, and the simplicity and goodness of his heart, were stamped upon his whole bearing. His motto was :—

"God is true, beautiful, and good." And this simple faith of his heart was exhibited in his pleasant face, sweet smile and sanguine conversation, as in a flawless mirror. To put it figura-

*A kind of flute played in accompaniment with other minor instruments on the occasion of weddings almost all over India. It is something like the Scotch bagpipes, but the tones are sweeter.

† The wedding tune.

tively; he appeared like a lotus, a hundred petals blooming in the beauty of his soul.

But to resume the story.

For more than five years now the two friends had been separated, Sukumar having been sent to Krishnagore School—the nearest place to their native village, Bouagram—and Suk having been taken by his father to Calcutta, and placed in a School there. Occasionally they had met during the vacations, but their letters to one another had been few and far between. If it had depended on Sukumar alone, then it would have been very different. At the beginning of their separation, he had been prolific in his letters to his friend. He had written to Suk daily, and had felt thankful when favoured with a few lines in return once a week, or even once a month. But happy are those who expect nothing from their friends, be it but a small letter, for then they will not meet with disappointment. At any rate, it was so with Sukumar. He had to wait for weeks, before he received an answer to many closely-written pages and as anything one-sided cannot last for ever, even his letters stopped at last. But this did not mean that he had forgotten his friend. On the contrary, although he felt neglected, he clung to the memory of his early days—the time when he had thought that Suk returned his affection—and he remained as fond of his friend as ever. Before the invitations could be issued by his father for his wedding, he himself sent the happy news to Suk and entreated him to come and take part in the marriage ceremonies. And this time he had not been disappointed. Yes, indeed, it was none other than Suk whom he saw the first thing on the morning of the auspicious day. His joy knew no bounds.

Seated on the cot beside Suk, he looked intently at his friend's face, with the pleasure of a lover, and laughed heartily. The laughter seemed to keep time with the festive music, and to fill the room with merriment. But to Suk all

this seemed very foolish, and he exclaimed :—

"Just as childish and frivolous as ever! I have never met such a sentimental fool as you are, Sukumar, in all my life!"

"Really!"

"Really and truly. Who else would have gone mad over his wedding?"

But neither the uncalled-for rebuke nor the untimely remark, could curb the joyous spirit of Sukumar. On the contrary, he laughed only the louder, and Suk could not help laughing, too. But suddenly he stopped and asked gravely :—

"Have you seen the girl?"

"Oh! yes, of course. And you have seen her, too. Don't you remember Satiabala?"

"Satiabala; indeed!" exclaimed Suk, with evident disgust.

"That little girl of seven who used to sit on the landing place of Chowdhury's tank, with a wooden doll in her hands, and burst out crying if anyone dared to touch her darling! By Rama*! Do you really mean to marry her, Sukumar?"

Sukumar, who was much amused by this description, burst out laughing again. Then, when somewhat quieter, he said :—

"You would not swear by Rama if you saw her now. Instead of doing so, you would feel tempted to exclaim "Sita Devi†!"

"Incorrigible fool; Drowned deep, heels over head, without any hope of salvation, I should think."

"You can think anything you like. Man is a free animal, isn't he, Suk-da? You may think, and I laugh."

"Shameless man? Playing the hero in anything and everything. I remember how ludicrously you used to quarrel with me on her account. It seemed as if you had been lovers in a previous birth, like Laila and Majnu. If

*The great king of the Golden Age, who is thought to have been an incarnation of the God Vishnu.

†The Queen of Rama.

anyone dared to look at her, you would at once throw down the gauntlet."

"My dear fellow, why, do you forget that..."

"I beg your pardon; I forget nothing. I remember vividly still how she would scream at the sight of me, fearing that beauty of a doll of hers would be snatched from her. And what would you do then? You would appear on the scene like a prince in disguise and fight with me, pity her, console her, and say 'aha, uhu'.* in the greatest sympathy, and thus deliver her from the devouring mouth of a Rakshasa (giant) like me. The scene used to be ridiculously pathetic."

Sukumar laughed all the time; and when his friend had finished, said:—

"Did n't you tease the life out of her, poor little thing? How could I help pitying and consoling her?"

"And now that 'cry-baby' is going to be your wife?"

"She is no longer a 'baby,' dear fellow, she is quite a young lady now. You will find out the truth when you see her yourself."

"I am afraid that I shall have to forego that pleasure. I must be off immediately the breakfast is over."

"Why? I thought that you were going to spend the whole of this week with me. I won't let you go, Suk-da. You must stay here till the wedding day"

"Impossible! I must catch the down train at three o'clock."

Poor Sukumar! He felt so sad and dejected. It was like a gust of north wind suddenly chilling his high spirits to freezing point.

In his endeavours to persuade his friend to stay, Sukumar, after a while said in a pleading voice:—

"It is the summer vacation now. I don't see any reason why you should hurry away. Do

*The expression of sympathy.

stay—I beg of you not to go away now," But Suk was a man of his word. The prayers of Sukumar entered his ears, but left him unmoved. His resolution to leave was based on a rock, and in his most petulant manner he said:—

"Do you think that marrying or being present at a marriage *tamasha*,—which I think comes to the same thing—is the whole aim and occupation of my life? I am engaged in a far more noble cause than that."

"And what is that, pray?"

"I am working for the cause of my country."

"Oh! Then you are a Swadeshi?"

"Yes, if you like to call me so."

"I, also, am a Swadeshi, Sukda."

"It is of no use to be a Swadeshi only in name. You must merit the name by your work."

"That is true, and I intend to devote myself to Swadeshism after my Law examination is over. My place in the movement is already worked out in my imagination."

"Good God! Save me from your imagination! We don't want imagination, or intention, my good fellow, or any of that big talk. What we want is real work."

"And that is precisely what I intend to do. As soon as I am free from the yoke of the University, I shall start an industrial school for the peasants and——"

"Shut up! I can't listen to your nonsense! It makes me lose my temper! Where will you get the money from to start your school with, pray?"

"Why, I shall earn it to begin with; and ask assistance from others, too, and—and—well you know I have a little bit of patrimonial property of my own which—"

"Which combined with your earnings will no doubt save our Motherland," said Suk sarcastically. "But as for the contributions of others you count upon, you may rest assured that no such help will be given you. Those who are willing to give

and are interested in such work, will not dare to assist you for fear of offending the Government. The only course left open to you, therefore, is to take to dacoity. Is not the Government actually doing the same thing? And why should you not follow the example set by the Government? What says our Sage Chanakya?—'You must follow in the footsteps of great men.'

But Sukumar's whole nature shrank at these words, and he could not believe what he heard.

"You are surely joking, Suk-da! I can't believe that you are in earnest."

"You are wrong there again. I say what I really mean."

"Do you mean to say that crimes like those committed in dacoity can bring us salvation. This world is certainly not directed by the spirit of Satan. Oppression and injustice on our part, for a certainty would only lead us into being traitors not only to the Government but to our country—to our own people as well as to ourselves; and surely they won't lead us to true patriotism. On the contrary, such deeds would make the people hate us and curse Swadeshism. To make a nation of the people you must begin by educating them, by moulding their character in such a way as to enable them to discriminate between real good and petty advantage. Never must they cultivate cruelty and oppression. They must be imbued with the spirit of love and justice. Then, and only then, can you hope to unite them into a nation."

"Bravo! Sir Orator! I am sorry there is no pulpit here. But never mind. I daresay those cheap precepts of yours will do very well for some half-penny book. But if I may venture to quote the Shastraic doctrines, I would point out to you that there are no such things as justice or injustice, duty or unity, in the abstract. These are only relative terms, are they not? Does not your English philosophy teach you the same doctrine? The real value of these things depends

on the circumstances of each case. When great Partha was unwilling to make war against his relations, did not Sri Krishna, the Lord, urge him to do so, saying:—

'Yield not to unmanliness, son of Kunti; it becomes thee not.' So saying Suk took out of his shirt pocket a small copy of the *Gita*—the great Hindu religious book—and handed it to Sukumar to read.

At this moment a servant entered the room, and with a respectful air, said:—"Sir, it is getting late. Will you not rise and prepare for the auspicious bath?"

"Is it really getting late?" said Sukumar in an apologetic tone. "Please go and tell my aunt that I am coming in a few minutes."

The man went away; and Sukumar, taking the book from his friend, said politely:—

"Page one and chapter two. Well, we will read it together and discuss it at our leisure after the feast. Now let us go."

As he said this, he got down from the bed, taking care to place the book under his pillow.

"But I can't stay so long," said Suk curtly. "It seems to me that you are so much engrossed in the thought of your wedding that nothing I say reaches your ears. I repeat that I must go away."

It was cruel of Suk to speak like that; but his friend understood him too well to feel offended.

"Very well: go then, if you must: but promise that you will come to the wedding. Give me your word as regards that, and then I shall let you go with a light heart."

"Well, I shall try to come, but I can't promise," was the discouraging reply.

Again the servant came on the scene, and again he spoke, and this time in a rather commanding tone.

"Sir, the ladies are growing impatient. You must not delay any longer."

"I am ready and coming. Go and appease the ladies with this information. We will follow you now."

So saying, Sukumar took his friend's hand and together they hurried to the small court-yard belonging to the inner portion of the house, which had been decorated and made ready for the bath ceremony.

Here the ground had been neatly painted with wet rice powder and vermillion. Four fresh banana plants had been placed in the centre in a square, one foot apart from each other. In front of two plants thus arranged, was a freshly painted wooden seat, and near-by on the ground were articles suitable for the occasion, the most important being a little silver cup holding the turmeric paste. At the time of the bath, some of the paste would be put on the forehead of the bridegroom, and the remainder would be sent afterwards to the bride's house, together with many other presents, to be used during the bride's bath. So it was necessary that the bridegroom should make haste now with the morning ceremonies.

It was "the ladies hour,"—that is to say, the ceremony had to be performed wholly by the ladies, who now filled the court-yard. They had been busy all morning, and had been merry and even boisterous. After preparing everything for the ceremony, they had been waiting for the bridegroom, and were growing impatient at the delay when he arrived on the scene. He was welcomed with the blowing the conch and cries of *Ulu-Ulu*.

He entered with a pleasant smile on his lips, looking as bright as the morning sun, and when asked to stand on the wooden seat, did so, laughing. Then one lady placed the bridal helmet on his head, and another put some turmeric paste on his forehead. And then, Oh! horror! What did the mischievous boy bridegroom do? He took off the helmet and put it on

his friend's head, and—laughing all the time—besmeared Suk's forehead with some of the holy turmeric paste, which was meant for the bridegroom and the bride only. Unfortunately, his fun only produced consternation. Suk angrily threw the helmet on the ground, and with a look of disgust wiped his forehead. The ladies were completely upset, even horrified, for this folly on the part of the bridegroom was certainly not a good omen. Some screamed; some uttered reproaches, and in the middle of all the unusual tumult, Sukumar's aunt—the lady of the house—taking up the fallen helmet, replaced it on the head of the bridegroom saying smilingly:—

"Don't do such a foolish thing again, my dear boy."

Peace being thus restored, the ceremony was carried out smoothly in all its details, and afterwards Sukumar went with his friend to the river to take the customary bath and prepare for the grander ceremony at noon, when he would have to sit with all the guests at the great feast and take the blessed breakfast, which meant for him long life and a happy future.

(To be continued.)

YOU ARE MY BROTHER

BY

RUTH LE PRADE

You thrust a poisoned dagger in my breast
But I could not hate you.

You bound me with cruel thongs
And struck me in the face—
But in my eyes there was only sorrow.

You pursued me like a beast
And caged me in dark places—
But I knew that the light would break for you—
Some day!


You builded me a cross and a scaffold,
You killed me many times—
But still I loved you.
You are my brother

"Well, my Comrade."

Historical Sketches of Ancient Dakhan*

BY

PROF. S. V. VENKATESWARA, M.A.

 book by a South Indian on the history of South India is always welcome; and it is more so when the author combines in himself scholarship in Tamil and experience as an epigraphist. The book before us is a collection of five papers by the author, three of which originally appeared in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*. As Sir S. Subramanya Ayyar observes in his foreword to this collection of papers, "though from the very nature of these contributions, they are more or less discursive, yet they deal with subjects of considerable interest to the student and are the result of an assiduous and careful study carried on over many years mostly of epigraphic evidence which of course constitutes the most reliable basis for authentic history."

The first Book deals with the ancient history of Conjeevaram. The author has worked out the Pallava chronology, and it is up-to-date, the only name conspicuous by absence being that of king Vijaya Nripatunga Varman of the Bahur plates. But the author's undoubted experience as an epigraphist has not enabled him to steer clear of mistakes in detail. There are errors both of commission and of omission. The author states that the vestiges of Buddhist influence at Kanchipuram "have all disappeared without a single exception." But several important vestiges were brought to light in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1915. Tirumangai Alvar speaks of Vairameghan not as king of the Tondaiyar, but as bowed down to by that king. Rudradaman was not an Andhrabhritya king as stated (on p. 16) but a Kshatrapa as he styles himself in the famous Junagadh inscription. The spelling of such

names as Andhrabhritya (for Andhrabhritya) Vikramanga (for Vikramanka) and Manimegalai (for Manimekhalai) might be excused in an amateur but not in trained epigraphist. It is stated as fairly certain that the great Sankaracharya was an ardent worshipper of Kama Kotyambika. But this is only one of the statements for which not a scrap of historical evidence has been cited. The author is one of the contributors to the *Epigraphia Indica* and is not unaware of the saving virtue of citing references and authorities. In the later history of Conjeevaram no mention has been made of the famous Telugu-Choda chieftains Vijaya Ganda Gopala and Vira Ganda Gopala, whose inscriptions abound in Conjeevaram and Tiruppukkuli and one of whose grants on a copper plate was discovered by me in 1914 and noticed in the Epigraphist's Report for 1915.

The author next deals with the history of the Pandyas and this, to our mind, is the most valuable part of his book. The author shows first hand acquaintance with some of the Sangam Works. He holds the view that the Tamil alphabet is probably of Persian origin, and discards the derivation of that alphabet from the script of Asoka. But he does not give his reasons or his references. He quotes the late R. C. Dutt's 'Ancient India' as authority for the Yadava migration to South India. It is surprising that a Tamilian of the author's stamp should have leant on the authority of one who did not know Tamil, in a subject where abundant evidence is available in the original. He could at least have quoted *Velir Varalaru* of Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar of the *Sen Tamil*, who has discussed this question in detail. Scholars have to reserve their remarks on the accepted account of Pandya chronology till the long-looked for Velvikudi

* By K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, B.A., M.R.A.S., Price Rs. Five. To be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Grant is published in full. The summary of the contents of the grant was given by the Epigraphical Department a dozen years ago, but it will not do for a scientific discussion. No Tamilian can accept the author's view that 'Kudumi' was the 'real name' of Palyagasalai Mudukudumi Peruvaludi.

In regard to the date of the *Silappadikham* the author accepts the astronomical results of Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillai. But this result is based on data which are not actually found in the work but are given by the commentator Adiyarkunallar. The author's discussion of the date of the Tamil epics is slipshod and far from scholarly. He makes a passing reference to 'the systems of belief and philosophy' mentioned in the *Manimekhali*, which, he asserts, 'could not have struck root till the 18th century.' Such statements cannot be accepted on the *ipse dixit* of an antiquarian, but must be proved in a detailed discussion. It is surprising that the author is silent on such positive facts, bearing on the data, as the mention by Mamulanar of the submergence of Pataliputra, and the use in the *Manimekhali* of a system of astronomical computation which was in vogue before the time of Varahamihira (6th century A. C.)

The history of the early Cholas is given in full, the author having digested the information found in a number of Epigraphical Reports. The author has extensively used the Tamil works here, as in the history of the Pandyas. He next gives a succinct account of the Kakatiyas of Warrangal. But the most interesting part of the book to the general reader is that dealing with the polity of the Dakhan. This subject has been dwelt on in detail by the late Mr. Venkayya in his Epigraphical Report for 1899 and in his masterly introduction to the 2nd volume of the 'South Indian Inscriptions.' With profound historical insight Venkayya understood the place of religion in the public life of ancient India, and many pages of

his Introduction deal with this subject. Religion is so closely associated with politics in this period that the author might well have devoted greater attention to religion in his survey. Nor has he dealt with the economic history of the times, which could be constructed on a comparative study of the wages and prices, for which numerous materials exist in our stone inscriptions.

We have dwelt rather long on the imperfections of the book with a view to get them made up in a later edition. The author has done real service to historical students by placing within their reach information in many cases to be culled from the learned periodicals.

TO A VERY YOUNG GENTLEMAN

BY

MR. CHRISTOPHER MORLEY

My child, what painful vistas are before you!

What years of youthful ills and pangs and bumps—

Indignities from aunts who "just adore" you,

And chicken-pox and measles, croup and mumps!

I don't wish to dismay you—it's not fair to,

Promoted now from bassinet to crib—

But, O my babe, what troubles flesh is heir to

Since God first made so free with Adam's rib!

Laboriously you will proceed with teething;

When teeth are here, you'll meet the dentist's chair;

They'll teach you ways of walking, eating, breathing,

That stoves are hot, and how to brush your hair.

And so, my poor, undaunted little stripling,

By bruises, tears, and trousers you will grow;

And, borrowing a leaf from Mr. Kipling,

I'll wish you luck, and moralize you so;

If you can think up seven thousand methods

Of giving cooks and parents heart-disease;

Can rifle pantry-shelves, and then give death odds

By water, fire, and falling out of trees;

If you can fill your every boyish minute

With sixty seconds' worth of mischief done,

Yours is the house and everything that's in it,


And, which is more, you'll be your father's son!

From "the Century."

THE PROBLEM OF HEALTH

BY

DR. G. SRINIVASA MURTI, M.B. & C.M. .

 NOTHING perhaps could afford better testimony to the revolution in thought that is taking place in Europe and America regarding problems of Health and Hygiene, than the perusal of a book entitled "The Principles of Health Control" by F. M. Walters, M.A., of State Normal School, Missouri, U. S. A. (D. C. Health and Company). The fundamental conception which the author tries to emphasise, is that the problem of an individual's health is not merely a matter of his flesh and blood and bones (as it is made to appear, in the ordinary text-books) but it is a matter of his emotions and thoughts as well. To our author, emotions and thoughts are not mere dreamy, airy, nothings—mere abstractions of a concrete brain, but are stern realities that act, react and interact, in respect of our physical constitutions, in so profound a manner as to affect not only our own selves but also those of others, amidst whom we live, move and have our being. It therefore follows that the care and control of our health includes not only the care and control of our physical bodies but also of our emotions and thoughts as well; in other words, the problem of one's health is not merely a problem of one's physical well being but it is also a problem of one's moral, mental and spiritual well-being as well.

Another fundamental conception which the author lays particular stress on is with regard to the exact rôle of the Science of Hygiene in Human and National economy. From Hygiene to Sociology, Politics, Education and Religion may seem a distant cry; but, according to our author, the kinship among them all is very close and intimate indeed.

Judged by the canons of our ordinary text-books, these ideas will doubtless seem revolutionary; we know that, according to the articles of faith laid down by our local educational experts, the different topics mentioned above ought to be relegated into different water-tight compartments. We know too that they profess to aim at early specialisation and great depth, in one or other of these isolated branches of study, in contradistinction to specialisation, after a preliminary general acquaintance, with all subjects, related to any particular course of study; Where this craze for early specialisation may lead us to, we do not yet know; but, George Bernard Shaw somewhere writes: "No man can be a pure specialist, with-

out being in the strict sense an idiot." But then, we forget that this glorified specialisation may be the means, whereby "an atmosphere of pure study" is sought to be created. Below are a few quotations in illustration of the above-mentioned special features of this work on Hygiene; as regards the treatment of such general topics like "Air" "Water" "Food," etc., they are dealt with here in much the same way as in the ordinary orthodox text-books and need no special mention. The following citations are intended to illustrate only the special features of this work; but, the quotations are merely illustrative, and, in no sense exhaustive; to be exhaustive, is to practice violent and wholesale plagiarism; the most exhaustive collection is, of course, the book itself.

HEALTH AND EMOTIONAL LEAKS

"Of the pernicious effects of malice, envy, and jealousy, and of the destructive effects of anger, much has been written and more remains to be said. Control of the emotions has indeed been a chief problem since pre-historic days, but the main argument advanced for such control was the protection of those towards whom the bad feelings were entertained. We now understand that the chief loser is the one who indulges the intense emotions and usually not the one towards whom they are directed. To him belong the nerve-leaks and his is the nervous waste. Self-interest, even more than altruism demands that we control our emotional states—suppressing those that are harmful and cultivating those that are beneficial. . . . To this end, it is recommended that the individual practising self-discipline prepares two lists for his guidance somewhat as follows:—

STATES TO AVOID

STATES TO ENTERTAIN

Undue disturbances from the thoughts and opinions of others.

Self-consciousness and self-pity.

Feelings of envy, hatred and jealousy, etc.

Pessimistic thoughts.

An over-serious attitude towards trivial matters. Gloomy states of mind, etc., etc.

Feelings of courage and self-confidence.

Confidence in and good-will towards others and interest in their welfare.

Optimistic thoughts.

Indifference to, or only slight concern for,

bodily symptoms, cheerfulness, states of fulness, etc., etc.

HEALTH AND MENTAL HYGIENE

Health-control is specifically a work of the mind. Through exercise of the mind, the agencies of health are established; and through mind, the causes of disease are removed. The influence of the mind upon the body, however, is not limited to the work of voluntary control. Agreeable and restful states of mind make for health; disagreeable, exciting and depressing states make for disease.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL HARMONY

Because man is a social being, health control cannot be a matter, simply of the individual. The results of physical transgression are not limited to those who commit them and people may co-operate for purposes of health, just as they co-operate for commercial and industrial purposes. That the failure of people to get along peaceably with each other is responsible for a large amount of unhappiness, ill-health, and loss of life is shown by the reports of the daily press. The number of cases of murder, suicide, insanity and nervous prostration, traceable to this cause are pitiful to contemplate; . . . quarrelsome people are in some localities more destructive to life than malaria or typhoid. In the home, most of all, are the effects of unharmonious relations, expressed in suffering and disease. All this is in violation of a fundamental law of Hygiene—harmonious social adjustment. Hence, whatever may be done through precept, example or legal enactment, to improve the social relations of individuals, will redound to the healthiness of people in general.

HEALTH AND POLITICS

It behoves the men of science, who have fought all kinds of infectious diseases and have improved the world's health-conditions, henceforth to become interested in national and international politics in order that their great work for all races of men may not be interrupted by the mismanagement of Governments.

HEALTH AND EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

A recent criticism of our public schools is that they have failed to develop in the pupils the traits that would make of them, the best citizens, . . . in other words, the schools have left undeveloped those social and ethical qualities that put people into helpful and sympathetic relations with each other, and that enable them to perform effectively, their duties to the social group of which they are a part. . . . Hence, education which is social in its aim, and stresses our duties towards others, as well as towards self, is of special importance in its relation towards problems of health.

TESTS FOR GOOD CITIZENSHIP

The good citizenship is characterised by the following traits:—

- (1) He is actively interested in all questions touching the public good.
- (2) He pays his taxes willingly and insists upon their wise expenditure.
- (3) He favours public education and public improvements.

(4) He is sympathetic with the workingman and is desirous that everyone be given a fair chance.

(5) He is a student of questions touching the welfare of his government and is active in placing men of honesty and efficiency in charge of public affairs.

To become such a citizen must be the aim of everyone seeking the largest control over life and the largest opportunity for his fellowmen.

HEALTH AND RELIGIOUS TRAINING

In at least three fundamental respects are religious organisations necessary and vital factors in the prevention of disease:

(1) As educational institutions, teaching altruism, social harmony, the power of love, the brotherhood of man, mutual helpfulness, and other social principles that constitute the essentials of good citizenship.

(2) As agencies for the establishment of habits, which conserves the forces of the individual, such as those of temperance, purity, nervous control, and the one day rest in seven.

(3) By leading people, through teaching and the formation of habits, into a general mode of life, which is hygienic in the broadest sense.

A serious defect in our system of religious training is that it fails to reach a very large percentage of the people; and this loss is national, as well as personal.

In a democracy in which individual liberty is stressed, and in which legal and political restraints are largely removed, self-restraint and the desire to do right for right's sake are essential to the public welfare. More than any other cause, perhaps, does "righteousness exalt a nation" and it is to be hoped that in the near future, an effective means may be found whereby the great social principles taught by the Church will be brought into more vital relations with the masses."

From the above citations, it will be evident that our author "mixed up" Sanctification, Religion, Education, Politics, etc., very much, in the same manner as the authors of ancient scriptures like Manusmriti and Old Testament did. European

professors of Sanskrit tell us that such "mixing up" is an indication of primitive civilisation. Is then American civilisation (one of whose best products our author is) to be classed as a primitive one, because our author "mixes-up" things as poor old Manu did? "Many of our so-called discoveries," said the late Sir Pardey Lukis, on a famous occasion, "are merely re-discoveries of what the ancients had long ago discovered." May it not be that the so-called "mixing up" is a sign of advanced thought, rather than that of a primitive one? May it not be that, in this, as in many other instances, the West has, by mighty intellectual efforts, just begun to see dimly what the East saw clearly generations ago by intuition and introspection?

But, our experts, like the old 'Bourbons, learn nothing and forget nothing; un-understanding professors still continue to teach to non-discriminating pupils that the venerable Manu and Moses repeat a condition of primitive civilization, because (mark the brilliant reasoning) they "mix-up" Education, Legislation, Sanitation, Politics, Religion, etc. To be logical, they must argue our author and the American civilisation (one of whose best products he is) into a primitive condition. Will this thought at least set them thinking? Would that our iconoclastic professors learn the profound wisdom contained in the following anguished cry of the poet:—

"Oh! that men would stoop to learn
Or at least, cease to destroy!"

TO THE ENEMIES OF FREE EDUCATION

The Society for Retarding the Progress of Education in India.

BY

MR. SYED M. RAUF ALI, BAR-AT-LAW.

CHAIRMAN'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

GENTLEMEN, I thank you from the bottom of my heart for the honour you have done me by electing me the first President of your Society. I am not oblivious of the fact that the absence of University qualifications usually indicated by the addition of certain capital letters after the victim's name, has to a very great extent influenced your judgment in choosing me as the chairman of this great Society. It is indeed a source of inexhaustible pleasure to me to reflect upon the vicissitudes of life which kept me from taking a downward plunge into the abysmal depths of an University career, for I am sure, if I had perpetrated the disgrace of graduation, I should have been found unworthy of the post which has fallen to my lot through your instinctive but nevertheless creditable lack of discrimination.

Although I feel that the burden, cast on my shoulders as the Chairman of this inaugural meeting, of explaining the aims and objects of the Society to the public is really too great for a man of my standard of ignorance, yet I am encouraged by the belief that you, as true supporters of the cause for which this Society is brought into being, will

completely shut your eyes to all my weaknesses and shortcomings in the way of education. The difficulty of my task is increased manifold by the forces of reaction which have convulsed the country from one end to the other, and have turned it into a veritable hot bed of modern education. But before I proceed to unravel the tangle created by the education-mongers in this country, I think it will not be out of place to point out here that although in its ultimate object and *raison d'être* the same, this body is a separate organisation from the "Society for the Propagation of Ignorance amongst the Masses," which was founded long before Lord Macaulay's great minute on Education was written in 1835. It suffered a set back by Sir Henry Wood's Dispatch in 1854 and continued in a state of discredited existence down to Lord Curzon's viceroyalty. In his regime it began to show signs of a complete resuscitation and has been ever since a flourishing organisation claiming as its patrons some of the most powerful elements in the country. The only difference between our Society and this association is that of method. We seek to arrest the progress of the disease thus indirectly bringing about the result which they try to achieve by actively promoting the healthy condition of affairs.

It should not, however, be understood that because the "Society for the Propagation of Ignorance among the Masses" was founded long before our Society, it occupies a position of superiority in the realm of achievement as compared to ours. Nothing is further from the truth. The ideals behind the movement which has now been given a definiteness and an organisation in the form of this Society for retarding the progress of education, have always animated humanity at large even in the remote ages of the past when the world-devastating fires of enlightenment were yet hidden in the dull-glowing embers of primitive ignorance. The ancient history of India is replete with instances which show how fully the dangers of the spread of education were realized even in those bygone times by the natural leaders of men and how heroic though imperfect attempts were made to check this pernicious infection. It is patent to every student of Indian History that in the ancient times Sanskrit contained the entire lore of the Aryan race, and it was solely monopolised by the Brahmins who as a caste formed what in modern times would be termed a guild of the learned. The Sudras who probably made up the bulk of the population were by legislation prohibited to learn the language of the Brahmins, and an attempt to speak it by any one except the members of the guild was made penible. When it is recognised that a language is nothing more or less than a vehicle for thought and that all kinds of knowledge need the medium of language for their diffusion, it is not difficult to understand why the study of the sacred Sanskrit was forbidden to the masses. The natural leaders of the day had fully realized the evil consequence of the spread of knowledge among the population and the untold suffering it would entail on the dumb millions, and in order to completely stop its progress, they laid their axe at the very root of the evil and forbade the indiscriminate teaching of Sanskrit which alone could foster education.

Gentlemen, it is really refreshing to an Indian to read in his ancient history that his countrymen even in those remote times were the pioneers in the difficult but supremely important task of suppressing education. No one doubts that theirs was a contented lot, that the age they lived in was far better than the modern times, that they enjoyed such prosperity and happiness as are unequalled by any race of men on the face of the earth to-day.

If you pause to ponder over the causes of their unparalleled and enviable glory, you will irresist-

bly come to the conclusion that they were better off because they were less educated, they were better men because they were less enlightened, they had a high and noble character because they were not schooled. In fact the star of our country's fate has declined in the same ratio as the ecliptic plane of education has risen among the people. Verily! No greater calamity than the spread of education could have befallen a nation once so great on account of its inherent powers born of ignorance.

I will not attempt the task of tracing the whole history of how the gangrene of education gradually began to eat into the very back bone of our national growth, for in doing so I shall have to deal with a mass of historical information which is bound to lead to your enlightenment on the subject, a result which it is my primary duty to avoid or I shall be guilty of breaking my faith with the main object of the Society. Every one of us who is privileged to be a member of this august body is bound by the most sacred vows to advance the cause of ignorance and to suppress all kind of enlightenment. You cannot therefore expect me to swerve a hair's breadth from the very first principle of our activity. However great be the temptation to indulge in the history of education-mongering I shall resist it with all the might at my command. For, gentlemen, our task is a sacred one and at a time like this when the undesirable propaganda of the educationist seems to have attained its high water mark, it is incumbent upon us to keep a constant vigil upon the holiness of our own mission lest it should degenerate into the polemics of the present day, and thus lose the abiding good which it is intended to do to the dumb millions of India.

It cannot however be gainsaid that by crying himself hoarse for the last 20 odd years, the education-monger has succeeded in attracting some of the best brains of our country and ever since his banner has been hoisted, his following has been steadily on the increase. Hence the foundation of this Society is none too soon. Had we let things drift their own way a little longer, the problem of suppressing education would have presented almost insurmountable difficulties. But as it is there is still a fair chance to rescue the masses of India from the edge of the precipice of education one step further, and they would have been thrown down headlong into the fathomless deep of compulsory and primary education, where even the most modern salvage methods would have been found unavailing.

Comparative recent history shows that although the struggle, which our sister organisation—the "Society for the Propagation of Ignorance among the Masses"—has made in withstanding the onslaughts of the disseminators of learning has been almost titanic in its various aspects, and success could be only possible on account of its being patronised by the custodians of public tranquillity, yet the aggressive and mischievous clap-trap of the so-called leaders has had its effect and by the constant beating of the education tom-tom, the education-monger has succeeded in gaining hearers in the highest quarters. Even Viceroy of the type of Lord Hardinge and Lord Chelmsford were dragged into the mire of controversy by the education croakers and had to lend their countenance to a propaganda which every right minded person knows or ought to know, is not only full of mischief but pregnant with calamitous issues for the future of India. Had it not been for the heroic resistance offered by the Provincial Governments to the bill for introducing compulsory primary education in the country, it is almost certain that the Government of India under the influence of Lord Hardinge, would have succumbed to the education blast sounded by the late Mr. Gokhale in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1912.

Gentlemen, it verily pains me to say that the fiercest and most implacable and untiring opponent that our movement has had recently to meet in open combat was no less a personage than the late Mr. Gokhale for whose personality none has greater regard than I have. But I should indeed be found wanting in the sentiment of patriotism and faithfulness to the cause of this great Society, if I attempted to speak *sotto voce* of the educationistic activity of the late Mr. Gokhale. There is no doubt that he was a great man but that does not imply that he was infallible or his public career was beyond the pale of error and I venture to assert that any adverse criticism directed against his activities from the standpoint of our Society will not be incompatible with the genuine respect which every one of us has for his greatness. Our position is very straight, forward and clear. We say that no single man has ever done more harm to the righteous cause of suppressing education than the late Mr. Gokhale. If he had not taken up cudgels against illiteracy in India, if he had left the question of compulsory education alone, or at least if he had taken up a neutral position in the matter, the task of our Society to-day

would undoubtedly have been a very much easier one, and the chief difficulty which is confronting us now in the shape of a general awakening of the public to the so-called importance of education would not have had at all its existence in the realms of reality. The prospect decidedly becomes gloomy when we recollect that he had almost succeeded in getting his bill on primary education through the Imperial Legislative Council but for the gallant resistance put up by the great leader of all the Divanas. This stalwart champion of the cause of our Society does not only deserve our special thanks for having so ably led the opposition to Mr Gokhale's bill on education and thus nipping the evil in the bud, but has proved his title to the highest position in the personnel of this Society. I therefore humbly propose that he be elected the First patron of this Society so that it may foster under his beneficent care and guidance. (At this stage the proposal for electing the honourable and gallant gentleman was put from the chair and was carried *nam-con* after which the president resumed his address). Gentlemen, it is only once in a century that a towering genius of the caliber of our esteemed patron is born to pilot the destinies of an erring and faltering nation. I hope you all remember the crushing argument advanced by him against the Gokhale Education Bill to which even the subtle mind of Mr. Gokhale could not give a satisfactory answer. Our patron of gallant traditions in his inimitable style of forceful presentation of the subject after disposing of other points in the pernicious bill declared that if the bill were put on the Statute Book, every Tom, Dick, and Harry would become educated and it would then be impossible to get coolies for ordinary labour in India. Apparently this argument seems very simple but it is in its utter simplicity that the stroke of genius lies. I should not be far wrong if I presumed that it was the force of this argument alone which appealed to the majority of the Hon'ble members and finally the ill-fated bill was thrown out. The defeat of this measure emphasised once more in a marked manner the eternal truth on which this Society is founded, and showed to the world at large that India was not altogether lost to the fulfilment of the universal purpose, but she still retained symptoms of a possible regeneration in the future. Even an antagonist of Mr. Gokhale's mettle could not in spite of his zeal and earnestness for education for ever suppress the truth and once emphatically asked his audience to

"Drive away the famine of ignorance";* by this imperative request he could only mean "Let us have plenty of ignorance" which alone can save India from the clutches of wide-spread education.

Gentlemen, so far I have dealt with only one aspect of the question before us, now I wish to grapple with such difficulties as have become the heritage of a decadent generation especially in this country. You will find a majority of people eulogising all what is comprehended by the word knowledge, and decrying all what they understand by the term—Ignorance. Their logic seems to be that because knowledge is a good thing, education which is a means to knowledge is also a good thing. It will therefore be necessary for me to dissect for your benefit the fiend of knowledge so that you may have the fullest confidence in the righteousness of our cause. If it is proved to your satisfaction that knowledge of whatever kind it may be is a source of eternal mischief in this world and destroys all ethical conceptions of good and evil, you will have no difficulty in believing that the process by which it is acquired, i.e., education is equally disastrous to the best interests of humanity and is therefore a fit object to be suppressed. Nothing is easier than to prove that knowledge is detestable. You will agree with me when I say that the aphorism "Knowledge is Power" is universally held to be true. Power is the same thing as might, and the saying "Might is Right" is equally well-known. Hence Might which is born of knowledge determines what is right and thus sets at naught all the high conceptions of Ethics which have their basis on the universally recognised principle that Right should be the determining factor in all human conduct and not Might. Knowledge, therefore, which leads to Power or Might is execrable from the ethical point of view. It is obvious also that knowledge disturbs the Moral Harmony of the Universe in such a manner as no other agency does. We are witnessing to-day the havoc wrought by education on a grander scale than ever before in the history of the world. Every one knows that the percentage of education in Germany was higher than in any other country on the surface of the globe. The indiscriminate spread of knowledge led Germans to power and in their intoxication of power they have admittedly broken all rules of Morality and ethical human conduct and are behaving in a manner which would be detestable even to beasts. All the

carnage of the present war is indirectly due to education and to no other cause.

The argument I have tried to elucidate will not probably appeal to those whose brains are obsessed with the stuff which passes under the title of "Modern Education," but I am sure that an audience like you will fully appreciate its poignancy and cogent characteristics, for Gray has truly said, "Where ignorance is bliss 'tis folly to be wise."

If you look back at the past history of this planet (I do not wish to encourage the habit of studying history in you. I only take a hypothetical case) you will find that the greatest men of the world have been in reality ignorant men. Moses who gave Law to the Israelites was an ignorant shepherd of the hills of Sinai. Jesus who has impressed his moral conceptions on peoples of Europe and America was an illiterate Jew of Palestine. Mohamed, who has left his mark of genius on a section of humanity consisting of the most diverse races, traditionally had no education at all. We do not know if Shakespeare went to any school or Newton even graduated. Nor do we believe that Chengiz Khan could write his name. Hence gentlemen, it ought to be a matter of pride to you that as members of this Society you are in the company of the greatest historical figures of the world, you must therefore have hope and confidence in yourselves. Although the path to your goal is beset with supreme difficulties, yet I assure you that with courage and patience, you shall be able to achieve the high purpose you have set before you. If each of you can prevent one child from going to school, you will have accomplished a task on which you can congratulate yourself and posterity will have cause for remembering you with kindness and gratitude.

For, gentlemen, in preventing the diffusion of knowledge among the species of man, you will be removing a stigma which has eternally attached to the race of Adam on account of his having eaten the fruit of the tree of knowledge. Had not our great ancestor fallen a victim to the temptation offered to him by Satan, if he had the courage of his convictions and refused point blank to listen to the overtures of his Consort, Mother Eve, and refrained from going even near the forbidden tree, not to speak of eating its fruit, if he had given a little consideration to the effect his ill-advised action was bound to have on his progeny to come, he would have surely avoided his own and his consort's precipitate expulsion from Paradise, and all the

* Quoted by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in her speech on Educational Ideals in Delhi.

evils attendant thereon. Gentlemen, it is not for me to enumerate the disastrous consequences which have flowed directly from that poisonous tree of knowledge, it is for you to let loose the reins of your imagination for a while and just think that but for the fruit of knowledge, to-day as heirs to Adam we would have been living in the realms of a blissful peace, which go under the comprehensive term of Paradise, provided with all the clarified celestial forms of enjoyment, and en-

dowed with the spiritual attribute of fitting about from space to space in the unscanned Heavens, free from corporealism and unfettered by any mundane characteristics. The enemy which has deprived us of our rightful heritage of Eternity and perpetual bliss deserves to be destroyed root and branch; and, Gentlemen, I am sure you will agree with me that that merciless enemy is no other than the accursed growth of education which rears the pernicious tree of knowledge.

German Regiments in the Old Madras Army

BY

MR. C. HAYAVADANA RAO, B.A., B.L.

It might sound strange but it is none the less true that at one stage of the history of the Old Madras Army there were at least a couple of German Regiments in it fighting in South India. These were the 15th and 16th Hanoverian Regiments which were raised in Hanover, for service under the East India Company for seven years by permission of the Elector, His Majesty King George III. The War which commenced with the invasion of the Karnatic by Haidar in July 1780 had been going on for two years at the time these regiments were formed, and the need for fresh European troops was keenly felt. The position of affairs in Great Britain was complicated by the War with Holland and France, which led in India to the capture of Mahe by the English at Madras, and this exasperated Haidar so much—because he had used it for some years for obtaining supplies of various kinds from Europe—that he prepared to invade the Karnatic. It is not exactly clear why these Regiments came to be formed and sent over to Madras. Apart from the difficulties for obtaining additional drafts from England and the scarcity for men for forming fresh English Regiments, there was for the Company the example of the Dutch to follow in matters of this kind. From the days of Sir Josiah Child the Company had followed in the foot-steps of the Dutch in India and the East both in regard to its general policy and in details relating to the administration and control of its factories. Child in his time was never weary of holding up the Dutch and their methods of work for imitation to the servants of the Company in India. The Dutch had raised German Regiments for service in the

East (for example in Ceylon) and there was no reason why the English should not follow suit. Moreover the times were propitious. The Elector of Hanover was the King of England. A little pressure at the right time and in the right quarter was all that was necessary. This was not impossible with a Chairman of the Company like William Devaynes, who was one of its Directors for over 35 years, and its Chairman five times and Deputy Chairman four times. His popularity is evidenced by the fact that he was chosen (in 1802) Member of Parliament for Burnstaple. He was an intrepid worker in the Company's interests and one like him is hardly likely to have missed an opportunity to make the most for the Company of the King's connection with Hanover. However that may be, it is clear that the Company successfully raised a couple of Regiments in Hanover for service under it in Madras. It appears that originally only one regiment of two battalions was intended to be raised; at any rate that is what should be inferred from the agreement under which the Regiments were raised. It is possible that this idea was later abandoned in favour of two separate regiments viz., the 15th and 26th Hanoverians. The following is an abstract of the conditions in conformity with which they were raised for service in the East Indies, as gleaned from the original agreement sent out by the Court of Directors to the Governor and Council of Fort St. George with their letter, dated 25th January 1782:—

GENERAL ARTICLES

1. The agreement to be for seven years.
2. The troops to be on the same footing as H. M.'s regiments in India with regard to pay, rank, and duty in every other respect.

3. All expenses whatever to be paid by the Company.

ARTICLES REGARDING FORMATION OF THE REGIMENTS.

1. The Regiment to consist of two Battalions, each Battalion of 10 Companies viz., 8 Fusilier Companies, 1 Grenadier and 1 Light Company.

The staff of each battalions to be:—

1 Lieutenant Colonel	1 Surgeon
1 Major	2 Cadets
1 Captain Lieutenant	5 Surgeon's mates like
1 Adj't. Major, rank	Serjeants
of Lieut.	1 Drum Major as
1 Do Ensign	Serjeant
	4 Musicians as Lance
1 Judge Do Lieut.	Corporals
	1 Armourer
	1 Provost as Private.

Each Company to consist of:—

1 Captain	1 Clerk
2 Lieutenants	3 Corporals
1 Ensign	2 Drummers
3 Serjeants	12 Lance Corporals
1 Corporal	74 Privates.

For the guns attached to each Battalion:—

1 Serjeant, 2 Corporals, 12 Canoniers.

The Company to provide two guns, three or six pounders for each Battalion.

LEVY MONEY

The levy money for every man (non-commissioned officers included) is fixed at £ 5/. The standard of the men to be the same as for the marching regiments in England.

TRANSPORT.

The passage for two women per Company is to be granted but no children to be carried over.

Officers obliged to return on account of wounds or illness with proper certificates, are to have a free passage, and to receive one year's pay gratification on their return. In case wounds have rendered them invalids they are to be allowed half pay for life should their private fortunes not exceed certain sums specified.

Invalid soldiers to join the invalid establishment until the expiration of the agreement, when free passages are to be given them, and on their arrival in England a sum equal to four month's pay to cover the expense of their return to Hanover, where they will be entitled to a pension of four pence three farthings a day.

COMMAND AND JURISDICTION

The command and promotion to depend on His Majesty's will and pleasure.

The Battalions to be governed by their own martial law, and in the manner prescribed by the Ordinances of the Electorate.

It is unnecessary to remark on the special concessions shown to the men in regard to "Martial Law," repatriation, command and promotion. They were all necessary in as much as they were raised out of England and for service under the Company in the East.

The troops arrived at Madras at the end of October 1782 in Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton's squadron, with H.M.'s. 23rd Light Dragoons, 101st Fort, detachment 102nd Fort, 200 recruits for H.M.'s 73rd and 78th (later the 72nd Highlanders) and 500 for the Madras European Regiment. The 15th Hanoverians were commanded by Colonel Rumbold and the 16th by Colonel Wangenheim. In the campaign of 1783 Colonel Reinbold was in charge of one of the two lines into which the Army was formed. His line consisted of three Brigades, the first of which was commanded by Lieut.-Col. Stuart, the second by Major Elmondson of the Bengal Army and the third by Major Balne of the same army. The second line was under Colonel Pearce of the Bengal Artillery. The 15th and 16th Hanoverians took part in the operations at Cuddalore, but opinion is divided as to the quality of service they actually rendered in delivering the assault. General Stuart complimented in orders the Grenadiers of H.M.'s 101st and the Hanoverians stating his conviction that the redoubt must have been carried had the battalions of the 101st done their duty. But Sir Thomas Munro states that the Hanoverians misbehaved and broke, carrying with them two companies of the 101st immediately in their rear, and that the whole together broke through the Sepoys drawn up to support them. The British loss on this occasion was considerable viz., 588 Europeans, and 347 Natives killed and wounded, which shows that Sir Thomas was probably correct in his estimate of the services rendered by the Hanoverians. The Hanoverians took part in the subjugation of the Madura Polygars between 1782-1784 under Colonel Fullarton. About 1790, the strength of the two regiments was 1,129, about a fourth of whom were either invalids or time-expired men. It has not been possible to trace when these two regiments were broken up.

A detachment of Wurtemburghers—numbering some 136—were taken by the Company's forces in the War with Holland in 1795. These formed part of the garrison of Trincomalee and they with 54 of their comrades when at Fort Ostenburgh (also in Ceylon) were later broken up under orders of the Government.

The Power of Life

Reginald B. Span writes to the *Occult Review* (June 1918) that the spiritual self of man can, by faith, will and imagination, be placed in such connection with the spiritual world that it can draw an unlimited supply of force from that great source of all life and transfer this life-power in the form of electricity or animal magnetism to the physical body thus making it ever young and prolonging life indefinitely. Sleep, complete repose of body and mind and pleasant recreation are of great value for the prolongation of life and the retention or renewal of youth. We are surrounded by inexhaustible supplies of magnetic and electrical force which can be drawn into the nervous system by faith, will and imagination. "The time will come in the evolution of the human race when physical death will be superseded by a gradual transition from the physical into the spiritual by a process of electric refinement." We are all of us *living* souls connected by our spiritual natures with the electric power-house of God and the Infinite, from whence all the force and life we require can be drawn to animate, sustain and rejuvenate our mortal frames. "Greater spirituality implies a greater power for the spirit to hold and renew the physical body."

It is certain that there is some force outside matter which can build up and sustain or tear down and destroy the human body. This force was employed in all healing miracles by Christ, and the saints and prophets. It is undoubtedly some form of magnetism and operates through the ether. In this life-power we have the secret of all life and creation; and by applying this power of life to our nervous systems we learn the secret of the rejuvenation of the body. In the wonderful occult forces that surround us may be found a remedy for every ill. *The Kingdom of Heaven on Earth*, when it does come, will see the majority pass naturally into the next phase of existence, their material bodies becoming sufficiently refin-

ed and spiritualised, so that physical death will not be necessary. The same may be equally said with regard to the working of miracles. To live in perfect health with unimpaired faculties and unabated vigour to much more than a hundred years is a possibility of the future; and he who keeps in contact with the higher forces of the spiritual world will command undreamed of power. "Mind is the immortal part of us, by which we can connect ourselves with the great electric power-house of God, and the Infinite from which ever flow abundant streams of life given free without money and without price, to those who seek the creation of all good things and abide in His love."

The Indian Army

Writing on "Voluntary Recruiting" in the May number of the *East and West* the Editor points out that it has failed in England and is not likely to meet the needs in India. He is not however advocating thorough conscription:—

A large army can be raised by organising district militia, officered largely by Indians. Every district should provide its quota of soldiers and train them in the district itself. The permanent police reserves should also be expanded. India will not object to the youth of the country being trained. Indeed this training will serve her well even in time of peace. The pay of the army has been raised in England and ought to be raised in India; the *Izzat* and prestige of the soldiers restored; King's Commissions should be granted without delay and a training Corps of officers immediately started. Only those who dare win great battles. Trust India, take leading men into your confidence, let them share your burdens, provide the organisation and India will provide men who will die for their King and their country. Men are not moved by cold words only. They need noble and great motives to move them. For God made man in His image, and victory comes to armies that fight the battles of God.

"Why I am interested in India"

Mr. G. P. Gooch, editor of the *Contemporary Review*, writing in the pages of the *Voice of India*, an interesting monthly magazine edited by Harendra Nath Maitra in London, has some fascinating recollections of his early love for India. His appreciation of India dates from his school days :—

"Like most other people, my acquaintance with India began in my school days with Macaulay's essays on Clive and Warren Hastings; and it was not long before I discovered the beauties of "The Light of Asia." Such stimulating works as Max Muller's "India: What can it teach us?" and Sir William Hunter's "Brief History of the Indian Peoples" followed. When once the vein of rich ore had been located, it was easy enough to follow it up. Edwin Arnold's translation of the Bhagavad-Gita, the Sacred Books of the East, Oldenberg's "Buddha," Sir Alfred Lyall's penetrating "Asiatic Studies," Fielding Hall's "Soul of a People," Meredith Townsend's "Asia and Europe"—these and many other works opened up new riches and fresh angles of vision."

At Cambridge later he came in contact with many Hindu and Mahomedan friends. Mr. Yusuf Ali became his friend and then since 1906 when he entered Parliament he became keenly interested in Congress politics and the Congress leaders :—

"Among these men Gokhale stands out in my memory as the highest type of statesmen. His perfect refinement, his complete self-control, his wide knowledge, his clearness of vision, his moderation, his disinterestedness, his deep love for India—these were the characteristics which struck those of us who discussed the weightiest problems with him. The new Secretary of State, then Mr. John Morley, to our great delight, called him into counsel in preparing his comprehensive scheme of reforms; and in his "Recollections" he has paid his friend and adviser the high

tribute that he deserves. His death in middle life was an irreparable blow to his country, and scarcely less of a loss to the British Empire; for he was the ideal mediator between East and West, between the past and the future."

And then there are pleasant recollections of Banerjea and other leading men of India :—

"I have also pleasant recollections of other leading figures—Banerjea, the brilliant orator, "the Gladstone of India;" of Basu, the gentle Bengali; of Pherozshah Mehta, the Bombay veteran; of Romesh Dutt, the experienced administrator and author of valuable books reposing on the shelves of my library; of Sinha, the first Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive Council; of Gupta, the first Indian member of the Secretary of State's Council at Whitehall. And in speaking of old friends I must not omit all reference to past or present members of the House of Commons whose names were a household word in the East—Sir William Wedderburn, Sir Henry Cotton, John Ellis, Sir Charles Dilke, Sir Herbert Roberts, Henry Wilson, and many others who were always ready to assist the cause of India by tongue and pen. Never before and never since has Parliament thought or heard so much of the wishes and the needs of India as during the Parliament which met in 1906, and which witnessed the passage of the Morley-Minto reforms into law."

Then comes Rabindranath Tagore the poet of whom Mr. Gooch says :—

"I have left to the last a name well known to readers of this Journal, a name becoming familiar to ever greater numbers throughout the British Empire and the United States, to say nothing of Japan and other Asiatic States. I rank Rabindranath Tagore with Gokhale; and no country of the old or new world can show a nobler pair of representative men. I had the pleasure of publishing in the *Contemporary Review* an early article on the poet by our common friend,

C. F. Andrews, then a keen admirer and now a colleague of the master at his school in Bolpur. It was an arresting experience to hear the author read his philosophic drama, "The King of the Dark Chamber;" and the impression of lofty spirituality was confirmed by personal intercourse. Since then the name of Tagore has become a household word among lovers of poetry and of the mild and subtle wisdom of the East; and the *Gitanjali* and their successors have found their way to many a heart."

Mr. Gooch concludes :

"No one who has had such associations with Indians and Indian problems can ever lose his interest in the fortunes of that vast country. England and India have much to learn from each other and neither must allow false pride to stand in the way. Our task is to increase the measure of Indian self-government as rapidly as circumstances permit; and India must help us to remember that the life of the spirit is more than riches, and that the brotherhood of men is better than glory and conquest."

Lajpat Rai on Young India

Writing in the American journal, the *Seven Arts Magazine*, Lala Lajpat Rai thus analyses the aspirations of Young India :—"What Young India loves is virile, masculine song that refers to the glories of the past, laments the weakness of the present and exhorts in compelling words to action for the upbuilding of the future. It delights their pride to be told with proofs that ancient India was great in peace as well as in war. Many young Hindus are devoting time and attention to the translation and exposition of ancient Hindu works on government, law, medicine, hygiene, architecture, chemistry and other positive sciences. This fills them with self-respect and stimulates them to work for equally notable achievements in the present."

Federation of Co-operative Banks

In the June number of the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly*, Mr. A. E. Mathias, I.C.S., describes the functions and constitution of the Federation of Central Banks in the Central Provinces. The system contemplates in the end a series of primary co-operative societies controlled by their members, the central banks and unions owned and controlled by these societies and the provincial bank owned and controlled by the central banks. The functions of the Federation extend far beyond mere audit; it is responsible for the general efficiency and supervision of the societies and explains to the public the objects of co-operation with the help of a magic lantern and cinematograph. All affairs of importance are discussed at its annual meeting of the Congress and its resolutions are binding on all central banks and their societies. The affairs of the federation are under a Governor assisted by an advisory committee of 4 members.

"I have sometimes seen it stated that the main object of the Federation is to conduct audit, and it is as well, therefore, to state here the objects of the Federation as laid down in the by-laws. These objects are :—

(i) To provide a regular and efficient system of supervision and control for all the banks and societies enrolled in membership.

(ii) To secure uniformity of practice and unity in effort and in aim amongst all co-operative bodies in the Central Provinces and Berar.

(iii) To work for the common good of all co-operators and especially to see that co-operative business is conducted on sound, safe, and progressive lines.

(iv) To teach, train, and educate the Federation staff.

(v) To foster by every means in its power the spread of the co-operative spirit amongst the people of the Provinces."

Education—East and West

Dr. Seitaro Sawayanagi, ex-President of the Kyoto Imperial University, writes in the April number of the *Japanese Magazine* about the conditions of education in Japan and the West. He says that the Japanese are still devoid of any accurate understanding as to the true object of education, and that there is a very great difference between regulations and reality; the regulations in many instances being permissive, while the reality is prohibitive. There is lack of accomodation in the high schools which are altogether unable to cope with the increasing demand for advanced education on the part of the rising generation. Such conditions are due not to the lack of interest in education on the part of the authorities, but to the high value placed on higher education by the younger generation. It will be a very long time before educational regulations can be brought into harmony with reality in this respect.

Another phenomena of some significance is that there is steady complaint as to the nature of education in Japan. The complaint covers all grades of education: primary, middle, high schools and universities. It is said that our education policy is fundamentally wrong. It is remarkable that while the public complains of the ineffectiveness of national education it still continues to seek it with enthusiasm, and the graduates of higher institutions are in great demand in all professions as well as in business. Most of the graduates of higher schools find employment in Government offices or the leading business companies, being engaged even before they graduate. Such graduates usually rise to important positions earlier than those without the advantages of higher education. In Europe and America the advantage of a higher education is not regarded so essential to promotion as it is in Japan.

A further peculiarity of Japanese education is

its tendency to centralization, most of the important colleges being found 'in Tokyo, where there are more students than in any other part of the country. Such great foreign cities as London, Paris, Berlin, New York have large numbers of students, but not so many as Tokyo. America and Europe have centres of commerce, or government, or manufacture, or transport but no special educational centres, such as Tokyo is. The government colleges and universities outside of Tokyo do not attract even half the students that desire to come to the Tokyo colleges. In foreign countries almost every important town has a high school, but it is not so in Japan, where these institutions are only eight in number and situated in as many important centres. In the feudal days the chief town of the Daimyo was a centre of education for his estate; and these local capitals had great influence on education and civilization generally. Now these feudal towns have ceased to be centres of learning, though still for the most part continuing to be perfectural. But they have no schools, as a rule, higher than the middle grade, or the Normal grade. The instructors in such schools may be the chief teachers of young Japan, but none of them can be regarded as representative educators, or scholars, of the country. The evil of centralization should be broken down, and higher education made more universal and representative.

Indian Constitutional Reforms

Mr. Saint Nihal Singh, writing in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review* about the proposed reforms for India, points out that India suffers in four different ways in the matter of decisions on Indian matters arrived at in Whitehall.

(a) She suffers through the pre-occupation with domestic affairs and the indifference of the persons who are entrusted with the responsibility of supervising the administration and acting as a check on the officials.

(b) She suffers through clash of interests.

(c) She suffers through persons set in supreme authority over her lacking knowledge of her people and problems.

(d) She suffers through application to her of political and industrial dogmas that are unsuited to her genius and her conditions.

The control of her fiscal policy from outside has been greatly detrimental to her industrial progress.

The constitutional reforms that the Indians desire can be summed up in a sentence. They wish the Indian administration to be largely Indianised, the government to be made responsible to Indians and its powers and privileges to be increased in order to make it competent to manage the purely domestic affairs of India with as little reference to Whitehall as possible. The few Indians who have been installed in high office have proved a success; and there is no dearth of Indians to fill other responsible positions that may be thrown open to them. The educated community is constantly growing and 7 years back, as many as 15½ millions were returned in the census as literate.

The most authoritative of the schemes propounded for constitutional reforms is the one drawn up jointly by the Congress and the Muslim League. The most salient features in that scheme are (1) the assimilation of the relation between the Secretary of State and the Government of India to that between the Colonial Secretary and the Self-Governing Dominions (2) the abolition of the India Council (3) that half the members of the Executive Councils be Indians (4) the provinces be made autonomous and all of them have heads appointed from outside the Civil Service and that all be granted Executive Councils. (5) Budgets to be introduced in the form of money bills and (6) Official control over local institutions to be removed and (7) Indians be given representation in any scheme of Imperial federation.

The Horse-Sacrifice

A recent number of the *Modern Review* contains an article by Mr. Narendranath Law, the well-known scholar, on the political significance of the horse-sacrifice. The performance of the sacrifice involved the assertion of political authority which was possible only for a monarch of undisputed supremacy able to face with confidence the risk of humiliation; for the entrance of the sacrificial horse into a neighbouring territory implied a challenge to its king. The Sutras and the Brahmanas give vague definitions of the eligibility of the persons who perform aswamedha sacrifices. Besides the implied object of asserting political supremacy various other objects were kept in view and believed to be achieved by the sacrifice. It was looked upon as a cowardice and sign of submission on the part of a king not to take up the challenge implied in the progress of the horse through his state. When the assertion of sovereign authority was in view the horse was made to pass through those states upon which the sacrificer's suzerainty was intended to be asserted. Horse-sacrifices when performed for the assertion of political power evoked bloody oppositions and proved to be a prolific source of unrest to the many kingdoms that had to face the sword in order to presume their independence. It was not practicable, as a rule, for any of the sacrificer's subjects to take upon himself the risk and its results, or for a rival king to use his forces successfully within the sacrificer's territory; and the horse is practically secure so long as it does not go beyond its limits. The *Jaimini Bharata* speaks of a written challenge put up at the head of a horse whose mere release is as much a challenge as its setting foot upon a foreign soil. In view of the restraint put in practice upon the roamings of the steed, its course was made to suit the particular purposes with which the horse-sacrifice was performed on particular occasions.

Military Art in Mediaeval Asia

Professor Rushbrook Williams of Allahabad delivered a lecture before the Benares Hindu University in February last on the above subject which is summarised in the *Central Hindu College Magazine* for April 1918. He explains the reason why the Indians repeatedly sustained defeats though deeds of valour and heroism among them were many. The wonderful success of the Moghul armies, throughout the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries in all parts of Asia, was due to the fact that they were the only people who cultivated the military art in the proper scientific spirit. Their military art did not proceed on lines merely of a haphazard empiricism, but was wrought on solid foundations and bore the impressions of a common tradition. The Chinese supplied the groundwork for successive Moghul generals to build upon and develop their armies as powerful units. Chenghiz Khan vastly improved the striking power of the army, while the further innovations introduced by Timur made the army a more powerful offensive and defensive weapon.

In the Chinese *Book of History* (6th Century B. C.) we find a description of battle formations, according to which the main attacking army was divided into 3 units or parts—right, left and centre; but behind the centre there was kept another unit or reserve. Chenghiz Khan sub-divided each of the 3 main units in front into 3 equal parts, and behind these sub-divided units he placed a solid body of troops in mass-formation. He increased the power of penetration of his army into the enemy ranks and gave birth to what is called *shock-tactics* in war. He assigned the place of the general in the rear of the army, and his commissariat arrangements were a marvel of foresight and thoughtfulness. He never lost his line of communications and never allowed himself to be in the air. After him, each of the three attacking groups or units of the

army became more and more divided while Timur placed two new units as flank units which could conduct an encircling movement and strike at the rear of the enemy or could produce a diversion and relieve pressure on the affected position. The whole army was perfectly drilled and taught to act like one solid body and organism.

The Turks who were situated on the borderland of Europe and Asia, profited by the advance of the military science in both the continents, created a new method of warfare by combining the best elements of the European and Asiatic fighting systems. Finally the Turkish system was adopted by the whole of Asia and was at the basis of Bahanis military triumphs. The battle between Shah Ismail Safavi of Persia and Sultan Selim of Turkey finally demonstrated the superiority of the Turkish mode of warfare and the Turks became the best teachers in military matters. Babar was trained in this school of strategy and showed himself to be a skilful master at Panipat and Kanwaha.

Democracy in Sculpture

Nash's Magazine has an interesting article on the sculpture of George Grey Barnard. Of his aims in work, the sculptor himself says:

I saw that the ideal of the Greeks was to make gods. They created beautiful forms, beautiful symbols, which they set on pedestals. But in their statuary, they stopped short deliberately at anything that was individual or characteristic of humanity. The day of the gods is past. This is the day of the people. It is the people, and the characteristics of the people, that I want to fix in sculpture. They say: "What is the use of making statues? Everything has been done." I answer No. "We are only at the beginning of sculpture. All humanity is waiting to be expressed in bronze and stone."

Akbar's Land-Revenue System

Messrs. W. H. Moreland and Yusuf Ali (both of the Civil Service) writing in a recent number of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January 1918) attempt to give a complete view of the theory of the land-revenue scheme in Akbar's administration. The revenue administration had evolved then an extensive terminology of its own and was supplemented by a code of regulations for the guidance of the higher administrative officers and a disquisition on economics and taxation. The scheme as given by Abul Fazl sets out the improvements in the standards of land-measurement and its methods, fixes rough but workable measuring instruments, gives the classification of land, and the method of determining the revenue on land under regular cultivation, fixes the miscellaneous taxes which were levied by the same machinery as the land-revenue; it also fixes the *mahal* as the formal revenue unit, defines the duties of the *Sipah-salar* of the province, of the *Amalguzar* and *Panjdar*, of the *Khazanadar* who was treasurer and accountant and of a host of other officials.

There were three systems of assessment in force, namely (1) *Gallabaksh* or crop-division which was prevalent only in a comparatively small part of the Empire, in Sindh and Kabul, (2) The *Zabti* system according to which each plot of land sown should be charged with a fixed assessment in cash determined according to the nature of the crop and which was prevalent in the provinces of Bihar, Multan, Allahabad, Oudh, Agra, Malwa, Delhi and Lahore, and (3) The *Nasaq* system which extended throughout Bengal and Berar and had some application in Guzerat and Kashmir, which was a form of assessment applicable to large areas, in fact, to Zamindari tenures. The administrative ideal was found in the *Zabti* system under which individual cultivators were in direct relations with the revenue officers, while the functions of those officers were so fixed as to

facilitate superior control. According to it, the demand for a season was not an uncertain figure ascertainable only when crops were ripe; it was known as soon as the statements showing the areas of the growing crops were available. Its practical success depended on two considerations: (a) the possibility of preparing the crop-statements in time which is obviously a question of efficient local administration, and (b) the reasonableness of the rates adopted. This regulation system was pushed as far as it would go, and was prevalent in the heart of the Empire, the plains of Northern India from Sindh to Bihar, as well as to the southward, in Malwa-Ajmir and Guzerat. Its extension was however conditioned by facts. When new provinces were added to the Empire, the regulation system was not introduced as a matter of course and independently of local conditions; in a very substantial portion of the Empire, the earlier systems were maintained, while more summary methods were adopted in the case of smaller areas where conditions were unfavourable to the success of the regulation system. There was a wide range of methods, varying from summary assessments on individual holdings, through assessments on larger areas, to sums fixed either by mandate or by treaty and representing what we should now call tribute rather than land-revenue.

Mr. Lajpat Rai on Lord Morley

India writes:—

A little self-revelation is to be found in Mr. Lajpat Rai's review in "Young India," New York, of Lord Morley's "Recollections." He says:

We see the true Morley in these pages; we will frankly admit that never before did we fully realise the difficulty and the anomaly of his position—a Radical Secretary of State trying to carry along with him a Tory Governor-General, a reactionary Council, and a jealous and truculent House of Lords.

The Russian Debacle and the East.

Some shrewd suggestions are thrown out in the May number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* by Lieut.-Colonel A. C. Yate, the author of *The Afghan Boundary Commission*, with regard to the work that the British have to do with reference to Persia and the neighbouring regions. The Russian debacle has meant the overrunning of the whole of Russia from Reval to Kharkoff by the Germans and the Austrians, the conversion of the Black Sea into a Turko-Teutonic lake, and the possible Turkish occupation of the Azerbaijan province in Persia and their concentration against General Marshall's position on the Tigris. The strong bases of the British are the N. W. Frontier of India and the Persian Gulf and the country which they should first protect is Persia. This is a time in which the British diplomat and soldier in Persia and the academic student in England should alike offer the right hand of fellowship to the Persian. The western marches of Persia are exposed to the Kurds, and it is the duty of the English to see that they as well as the Armenians and Georgians of the Caucasus are protected, but there is a greater danger, viz., the rife German intrigues in Persia itself. The Armenians and the Georgians have bravely opposed the cession of Batoum, Kars and Ardahan made by the *Bolsheviks* at Brest-Litovsk and as to the line of action which the Mussulman races in the Caucasus will adopt we have as yet no clear information. The Cossacks of the Don, etc., have temporarily disappeared from the horizon; and the so-called Caucasian national army is averse to intrusion. The apprehension of a Turkish concentration against General Marshall's position on the Tigris has been relieved; and at the present moment Persia is free of marauding aliens, and if she is now true to herself, she will with British help emerge safe from the crisis.

The so-called Pan-Turanian movement of all the Moslems from the Caspian to the Chinese fron-

tier is really a very nebulous conception; and the only concrete reality in this region is Afghanistan. It is self-centred, keeping foreigners at arms length and making itself feared and respected. The Afghan Amir may possibly have the temptation to interfere in Turkestan, the Transoxiana associated very closely with him and his ancestors. With regard to China there is the German *plus* Bolshevik peril looming on its northern border. There is also the danger of an outbreak occurring among the great Muhammadan population of the Chinese provinces of western Yuman, western Czechuen and western Kansu. Their position is very ambiguous, and German intrigue might easily foment a new cataclysm here, though China's hold may not be easily thrown off. Lastly there is the knotty topic of Siberia to which Dr. Morrison of Peking suggests the sending of an Allied contingent.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

- WHAT DOES INDIA WANT. By Tyler Dennett. ["Asia," April 1918.]
- RIVER TRANSPORT OF WOOD AND BAMBOOS IN MYSORE. By Rao Sahib Mr. Rama Rao. ["The Mysore Economic Journal," May 1918.]
- PEOPLE'S BANKS AND THEIR SPECIAL DANGERS. By K. D. Sethna, Esq. ["The Bombay Co-Operative Quarterly," June 1918.]
- JAPAN'S TRADE WITH INDIA AND THE SOUTH SEAS FOR 1917. ["Journal of the Indo-Japanese Association," April 1918.]
- BENGAL WEAVERS AND THEIR INDUSTRY. By Maliswar Sen. ["The Modern Review," July 1918.]
- THE INDIAN BUDGET FOR 1918-19. By Prof. V. G. Kale, M.A. ["Journal of the Indian Economic Society," March 1918.]
- AGARKAR AND SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION. By Mr. Vasant N. Naik, M.A. ["The New Review," May 1918.]
- BENGAL IN TRANSITION. By Dr. Biswanath Mukerjee, L. M. S. ["The Hindustan Review," May-June 1918.]
- AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION IN INDIA. By Mr. Mukhtar Singh. ["The Vedic Magazine," May 1918.]

Indian Cavalry in France

Sir Douglas Haig, in his despatch of March 10, writes :—

"The principal actions in which Indian Cavalry took part and rendered most gallant and valuable services were the defence of Noyelles on the 21st November, and the capture of Gauche Wood on the 1st December. Both these incidents are referred to in the published Despatch. Great gallantry was shown also by the units concerned in the mounted attacks on Villers-Guislain on the 1st December, but these operations did not meet with any substantial measure of success."

On the morning of the 21st November the Canadian Brigade attempted to cross the canal at Masnieres, but was prevented by the development of a heavy hostile counter-attack. The enemy was also strongly counter-attacking our infantry and the 1st Cavalry Division in Noyelles, and early in the afternoon the Ambala Brigade was sent to their support. This Brigade was of material assistance in the defence of the place.

On the morning of the 20th November the 5th Cavalry Division was at Konchylagache, and the 4th Cavalry Division at Athies whence it was on the point of moving into line in relief of the 24th Division.

The Ambala Brigade reached Vaucelette Farm, South of Gauche Wood, at about 3-20 p. m. and found the farm held by our infantry. A position was gained about 1,000 yards west of Gauche Wood, but further progress was stopped by machine-gun fire and by a hostile counter-attack which, however, was beaten off.

The Secunderabad Brigade reached Gouzeaucourt which had already been taken by the Guards Division, and sent out patrols towards Gounelien to establish connection between the left of the Guards Division and the 20th Division.

By this time, the Canadian Brigade had come into line on the right of the Ambala Brigade, just east of Vaucelette Farm. The Lucknow Brigade

of the 4th Cavalry Division, was ordered up to cover the right flank of the 5th Cavalry Divisions.

On the morning of the 1st December the 5th Cavalry Division with the Lucknow Brigade of the 4th Cavalry Division attacked Gauche Wood and Villers-Guislain, dismounted in co-operation with the right of the Guards Division and a number of Tanks. The Ambala Brigade, Guards and Tanks by 8-30 a. m. had captured Gauche Wood where they were reinforced by the Secunderabad Brigade. The Lucknow Brigade attacking Villers-Guislain did not get in touch with its Tanks and was held up by machine gun fire.

Further west, the 4th Cavalry Division attacked the ridge running south-east from Villers-Guislain with the Mhow Brigade, the Sialkot Brigade being in support. The 2nd Lancers advanced at the gallop at 9 a. m. under a very heavy fire and captured Kildare Trench about one and a half miles south by east of Villers-Guislain.

The line gained was held during the night of the 1st, 2nd December by the Sialkot and Secunderabad Brigades.

Bishop Wedgwood on India's Claim

'India,' said Bishop Wedgwood in the course of an interview to an American journal, 'by reason of her already generous contribution of men and money for this war, has won the right to be granted her loyal aspirations to be an autonomous partner of the British Commonwealth on the same basis as Canada and Australia.' And again:—"Why should not India with its three hundred million people be granted this boon and its enormous man-power and resources be utilised?" And this says India will be the view of every honest Englishman who understands the meaning of the modern movement of Freedom. It will be a shame if England's ideal aims of the War are stained by any policy which may fall short of a full recognition of India's claims to self-government.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

The Urgency of a Ceylon University

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society, urged :—

After over a hundred years of British rule we are still in the stage of secondary schools, though they hide the poverty of their educational equipment under the high sounding name of colleges. The Cambridge Senior Local Examination was for many years, and the London Intermediate is now their goal, and can scarcely be said to constitute a liberal education. It is excellent testimony, however, to the intellectual capacity of our youth that with these scanty opportunities they achieve great success in the professions. The pity is that there is with rare exceptions, no love of knowledge for its own sake, no drinking deep of its fountains, no atmosphere of culture. Even those who are educated in Europe aim at little more than professional or social success. Few, if any, qualify themselves, as Rabindranath Tagore or Jagadish Chandra Bose, Gokhale or Tilak, Subramanya Aiyar or Gandhi have done in India to contribute to the general stock of learning and culture and to promote the growth of high ideals. We little realize that "the mind that lies fallow, but a single day sprouts up in follies that are only to be killed by an assiduous and constant culture." Still less do we feel that, whatever may be the advance in other respects, "Where there is no vision, the people perish." Mr. Harward in his presidential address five years ago expressed the hope that ere long we should have an institution with a chair for Sanskrit and Pali, and other facilities for the training of scholars. That hope was nearer fulfilment then than now. A University College, which Sir Robert Chalmers planned and the Secretary of State sanctioned, would have been by this time a "*fait accompli*" but for the vicissitudes of a Crown Colony administration, whose main defect is the lack of continuity of policy. Thanks

to the efforts of Mr. Denham, we are about to have at least a course of lectures to help students preparing for the London B.A. We may perhaps now indulge in the hope that at no very distant date the "premier Crown Colony" may be enabled to rise to the educational level of a "Native State." Mysore with scarcely half the revenue of Ceylon has not only established a University, but made University education free, and this in spite of the war, which here blocks progress, and of her liberal contributions to the Imperial Government in men and money for its prosecution. A little of the same earnestness in the cause of education on the part of our authorities should remove all obstacles and bring our University out of the region of dreams into sober reality. In this connection must be recorded with pleasure that peoples' memorial to Sir John Anderson is to take the form of an endowment for higher education and research and that over a lakh of rupees has been already subscribed. The most valuable result of a University is not the passing of examinations or the learning of books. Who that has studied at a European University such as Oxford or Cambridge, Berlin or Paris, does not know how the character and example of the Professors—true high priests at the shrine of learning—and the clash of opinions from association and discussion with teachers and fellow-students stimulate the intellect, elevate the spirit and create an atmosphere of high ideals? Who can estimate the loss we have suffered for want of such a fountain of intellectual and moral life? Only when this want has been supplied can we expect societies and institutions such as the Royal Asiatic Society and the Colombo Museum to be really efficient and fruitful. Not only as an instrument of national culture and for the production of good citizens, but even from a purely material point of view higher education, and specially scientific and technical education, is of vital importance.

Maharaja of Patiala on the War

Speaking in reply to Mr. Walter Long's tribute to the services of India and the Dominions at the Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Mansion House on 11th July, H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala said :

He was deeply grateful for the good feeling manifested towards him and the flattering reference to his humble work for the War. The current Imperial gathering was proof of the solidarity of the Empire, the bonds of union between the different parts of which had been drawn closer by the War, in which the people of every clime within the Empire vied with each other in doing their utmost to bring the struggle to a victorious conclusion. The Princes of India had thrown themselves into the conflict with enthusiasm in no way inferior to that of the people of British India. (Cheers.) They had most willingly made heavy sacrifices in men, money and materials, and were determined to continue and if possible to redouble these sacrifices till the victory of the King-Emperor and his Allies was won and the forces of righteousness triumphed. The Indians were proud that India had supplied a considerable number of troops to all War theatres and under the decisions of the Delhi Conference she was training at present more men than at any previous stage in the conflict. (Cheers.) After emphasising the part India had played in providing War materials and food stuffs for the Allies and that she had manufactured most of the equipment for her own Expeditionary Forces, the Maharaja of Patiala concluded by saying that he referred to these facts in no spirit of vanity, but simply as an indication of the unwavering purpose of India as a whole to co-operate to the utmost in her power with the rest of the Empire in the great work of preserving the ordered strength and liberty of His Imperial Majesty's Dominions and this purpose would not be slackened until victory was completely won.

Sandal-wood Oil in Mysore

It is stated in the Mysore Administration Report for 1916-17 that the sandal-wood oil factory at Bangalore started work on May 10, 1916, and manufactured 50,690 pounds of oil up to the end of June, 1917. A net profit of Rs. 5,03,058 (after paying Rs. 8,07,947 to the Forest Department for sandal-wood) was realised during the period. The value of the oil sold and in transit to the London Agency amounted to Rs. 5,80,992. The construction of another factory at Mysore at an estimated cost of three lakhs of rupees was undertaken during the year and the work is nearing completion. The industry is placed on a scientific basis and the Mysore oil commands a good price on the London Market. The services of two Professors of the Indian Institute of Science as consulting chemists have been secured, and before shipment, a sample is taken from each consignment of oil, and a certificate of purity issued under their signature.

Cochin Industries

The Cochin Darbar has appointed a Superintendent of Industries as a tentative measure for two years to deal with the promotion of minor industries in the State. The question of the establishment of a new department of industries which will work in connection with the co-operative societies in the State, and the problems of obtaining raw materials and finding suitable markets for locally manufactured produces will be considered. The Superintendent will also take up the work of the revival of old and dying arts and industries and of the creation of new ones, as cottage industries.

Education in Baroda

Compulsory primary education in Baroda has been extended gradually to include villages containing not more than 100 or 200 persons. There are at present 2,719 rural schools with about 250,000 pupils.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

The Situation in South Africa

Mr. C. F. Andrews writes to the *Statesman* :—

The news which has just reached India, by cable, from South Africa is of grave moment, coming at this crisis of the War. Mr. Ahmed Muhammad Cachalia, the leader of the Indian community, has cabled (and the cable has passed the censor) that new statutory regulations have been passed imposing a colour bar against Indians which never existed before in the eyes of the law, and that these regulations (which have been promulgated in war-time) have broken right across the settlement reached by General Smuts just before the War began in June, 1914.

Two points are brought forward wherein the breach of the Settlement in war-time is alleged to have taken place :— (a) A whole series of restrictions with regard to travelling on State Railways and the use of State Railway stations; (b) the declaration, made in a lower court and acted upon by officials, that Indians who come from Native States are aliens, and are not entitled to the same rights in South Africa as those who come from British India.

The first point is the one that is most immediately pressing, though the second, if persisted in, may assume great importance. Those who know how pitifully meagre the legal status of Indians already is in South Africa, will easily understand with what alarm any still further reduction of that legal status is regarded. Above all, it is feared that this is only the beginning of a series of blows intended to undermine the great settlement that was reached at such suffering and cost.

As far as I am able to read the situation at a distance, this sudden action in war time appears to mean that the reactionary elements in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal have temporarily overcome the more liberal elements at the Cape under the Hon. J. X. Merriman. This was the real danger in 1914 and it was only

the strong personality of General Smuts which brought about the passage of the Indian Grievances Bill on June 20, 1914—which goes by the name of the “Settlement.”

One of the very foundations of this “Settlement” was that all existing legal rights were to be maintained and interpreted in a liberal manner. It would appear now, in the crisis of War, with General Smuts away in Europe, those forces of reaction (which always disliked the Settlement) have gathered to a head to overthrow it and that they will press on towards further restrictions.

I know Mr. Cachalia, the Indian leader, personally. He is a modest and retiring man, who was of the greatest help in bringing about the settlement itself by his reasonable view. He has learnt, in a very hard school of suffering, what a tragedy it would be, if Indians were obliged to take up the whole struggle once more. He would never do so except as a last resort. Yet it is he, who has cabled, that Indians of all classes—Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees and Christians—are unanimous in their decision that this is the only honourable course left open, if these new restrictions are not removed.

Indians in Sweden

The Indian Professor Yusuf Ali, who was recently lecturing in Sweden on India, enquired into an organisation in Stockholm calling itself “The Indian National Committee.” The Professor writing in the paper “Aftontidningen” declares that the Committee consists of two Indian Anarchists who can in no way be regarded as Nationalists as they neither represent India nor are in touch with it.

U. P. Labour Corps in France

Papers have been published showing the work of the United Provinces Labour Companies in France. With a few exceptions, the reports on the behaviour of these labourers amid strange surroundings have been mostly gratifying.

Rise in Food Prices in India

The Department of Statistics has compiled a Blue Book showing the fluctuations in the wholesale and retail prices of certain principal articles of consumption in the ports and in the various provinces throughout India, at the end of each year since the outbreak of War and subsequent to August, 1917. House rents statistics in the ports of Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi and Madras have also been collected to indicate approximately the change in the price of house rooms in these ports.

Crudely stated there was a rise in wholesale market prices in Madras 111 per cent., in Bombay 109 per cent., in Karachi 94 per cent., in Calcutta 68 per cent. and in Rangoon 43 per cent., at the end of December, 1917, as compared with the level at the outbreak of the War. Retail prices (chiefly food-stuffs) in the same period increased by 35 per cent. in Karachi, 29 per cent. in Bombay, 21 per cent. in Calcutta, 27 per cent. in Rangoon, and 13 per cent. in Madras. The rise in wholesale prices was at the end of December, 1917, in most of the markets in regard to salt, shellac, turmeric, metals, cotton manufactures, coal, and cotton raw. Briefly speaking, Calcutta showed at the end of December, 1917, the greatest rise in salt and ghee, Bombay in milk, tea and meat, Karachi in sugar, wheat flour, eggs, potatoes and cereals, and Rangoon in pulses. The retail prices of edible oil on the other hand decreased in all the ports, Bombay showing the greatest decrease (31 per cent.)

The rise in the retail food prices at the end of March, 1918, over the pre-war level was 59 per cent. in Karachi, 30 per cent. in Bombay, 13 per cent. in Calcutta, 8 per cent. in Rangoon, and 6 per cent. in Madras. As compared with December, 1917, food prices have fallen in Calcutta and Madras, while they have risen in Karachi, Bombay and Rangoon.

The following statistics compiled from the

"Labour Gazette" of the Ministry of Labour, London, give the latest available information regarding the advance in food prices in countries abroad:—Vienna 173·2, Norway 130, Berlin 110·5, United Kingdom 107, Sweden 99·6, Switzerland 90, Paris 84, Italy 71·6.

The greatest rise in house rents at the end of 1917 was in Karachi (41 per cent.) as compared with the pre-war year 1913, next comes Madras 22 per cent., followed by Bombay 18 per cent., Calcutta shows the least rise of 9 per cent. Denmark 68·3, (Lisbon) Portugal (1913-100) 65, United States 51, Holland (1913-100) 41·4, New Zealand 30·5, Australia 29·4.

Japan's Investments

Japan's investments made in foreign countries in 1917 were to the extent of close upon 460,000,000 yen, while in addition, the sum of money that had been paid in for capital for the purposes of new business enterprises amounted to over 720,000,000 yen. Further, it is found that the amount of our national loans floated was about 240,000,000 yen, and the issue of debentures by various companies and of municipal bonds aggregated about 140,000,000 yen.

Co-operative Societies in Bombay

The total number of societies of all kinds in the Bombay Presidency rose from 963 to 1,225; their membership from 104,924 to 128,461; and their working capital from Rs. 96·8 lakhs to 121·92 lakhs. In the course of the year 30 societies were cancelled. Notable progress has been achieved in all directions and the results have surpassed all previous records. There has been a distinct growth in the spirit of mutual help, and a knowledge of what co-operation implies has resulted in the rapid organization of local unions. All parts of the Presidency, except Gujarat and the Konkan, observes *Indian Industries and Power*, have shared in the advance, but it has been most marked in the Dharwar, Belgaum, Satara and East Khandesh districts.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

Prisoners in Agricultural Work

Details of an interesting scheme of employing prisoners in agricultural work are mentioned in the Report of the Burma Agricultural Department. A large farm covering about 3,000 acres will be opened in Upper Burma, and "ticket-of-leave men from the gaols will be employed in the experimental cultivation of sugar-cane and other crops." It is expected that the scheme will prevent overcrowding in gaols and at the same time help to determine the best crop suited to the undeveloped areas of Upper Burma. The idea is a good one, but it appears that practical effect may not be given to the scheme until the War is over, on account of paucity of funds.

Agricultural Prosperity

Summary tables for 1916-17, just issued by the Director of Statistics, show an increase of ten million acres or four per cent. in the total area sown. Of the food-crops, the area under rice and gram expanded by two million acres each, in 1916-17, that under wheat and bajra by one million acres each while that under jawar decreased by one million acres, mainly in Madras. Among the non-food crops, the main increases are under cotton ($2\frac{1}{2}$ million acres), indigo ($\frac{1}{2}$ million acres) and fodder crops (one million acres.) The total area irrigated increased by about three million acres, as compared with 1915-16.

Electric Treatment of Milk

Sterilisation of milk by electricity has been found by experiments to give better results in some respects than boiling or even pasteurisation, both of which impair the nutritive qualities of the milk. From investigation it appears that the electrical method destroys 99.9 per cent. of all bacteria, rendering even tuberculosis milk harmless and free from disease germs, and so reducing the souring bacteria that the treated milk will keep perfectly sweet three or four days at least. The milk is pronounced satisfactory as infant food.

Time of Harvesting Sugarcane

A writer in the *Mysore Economic Journal* observes:—

Before commencing to extract juice from the sugar-cane it should be observed that the cane is perfectly mature. As the sugar-cane in a whole year crop and its time of sowing varies from January to March, cutting must not be done until the full period January to March has elapsed. For premature cutting is as harmful as a belated harvest. In the former case, the cane-cells are insufficiently developed and do not yield the requisite amount of saccharine juice while in the latter, the matured cane is deprived of the sap leaving the pith in the cells to almost resemble an empty honey-comb.

Malaria an Agricultural Problem

The projected national institute of malariology in Italy is to form a part of the department of agriculture. The relations of malaria and agriculture will be investigated; and studies and experiments will be made to determine the direct and indirect causes of the unhealthiness of malarial districts. The aims include also the adoption of effective means of removing the causes, including the extermination of the germ-carrying mosquitoes.

Field Mice Destruction

Experiments have been lately made in the destruction of field mice. It is first necessary to find out whether the holes are inhabited, and they are then closed by trampling upon them, and 3 or 4 days later the opened holes are treated with various substances. A good method is to introduce a handful of grass covered with phosphorus paste or arsenical compound. Morphine pills are good only in dry weather. Fumigation by sulphurous gas from burning sulphur is to be recommended, and liquid sulphurous acid can also be used with success. Phosphide of zinc is sometimes employed.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

543

[ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION]

The Value of Friendship. By Annie Besant, "Commonweal" Office, Madras.

Among her numerous occupations, Mrs. Besant has found time to edit a series of delightful stories for Indian children. The first entitled "The Value of Friendship" is a free and easy translation of the ancient classic, *Hitopadesha*. These pleasant and attractive stories are delightfully told in simple prose and we hope that when the series is completed we will have a beautiful library of "Books for Bairns" which must be on the shelf of every school going child in India.

Proceedings of the War Conference.

Government Printing, Delhi.

This book contains full text of the proceedings of the Delhi War Conference held on the 27th and 28th April. The speeches were spoken highly of in the Press when they were delivered and we had only seen scrappy reports of some of them. It is therefore good to have in this handy form an authorised version of the speeches made on this important occasion.

The Tragedy of Moharram. By Peerzadah Motamiya, Mongol. Amarsinhji Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 12 As.

In this small book is given the history of the tragedy enacted at Kerbela in Mesopotamia fourteen hundred years ago, the mournful anniversary of which is kept up by Musalmans throughout the world with more or less elaborate ceremonials. To an outsider, Moharram appears to be a huge tamasha,—a grand procession of paper and tinsel "cages" and green draped *panjas* carried through the streets of a town with great pomp but pathetic and doleful music. The *taboot* (correctly *turbat*) is the coffin of the Imam Husain, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad who fell martyr in a battle forced upon him at Kerbela by the agents of the cruel Khalifa Yazid. This book gives a brief account of the episode and is well worth reading.

Sacred Thoughts. By K. S. Seshagiri, 5, Andar Nayaniappa Naik Street, Mylapore.

This is a pocket book of valuable thoughts culled from the writings of celebrated men in the East and West. The selections bear the authority of great names both ancient and modern and will afford food for reflection.

The Householder's Dharma. By Champat Rai Jain. Jaina Publishing House, Arrah.

This is a translation of *Katna Koranda Sravakachara*, a work of great authority on Jainism by Swami Sri Samantabhadra Acharya, a famous Jaina Saint, who is said to have lived about the latter part of the 2nd century A.D. The translation is very clear and accurate. The work shows us how there are innumerable points of kinship between Hinduism and Jainism. Mr. Champat Rai Jain has contributed also a valuable introduction explaining the great doctrines of Jaina philosophy.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE EVOLUTION OF JAPAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

By Lala Lajpat Rai, Published by R. Chatterjee, "Modern Review" Office, Calcutta.

1920 DIPS INTO THE NEAR FUTURE. By Lucian ;

THE AIMS OF LABOUR. By Rt. Hon'ble A. Henderson ; **THE STATE AND THE CHILD.** By W. Clarke Hall. Headley Bros., London.

MASHI AND OTHER STORIES. By Sir Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

BOOKS RELATING TO INDIA

THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY. By Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras.

MOHAMED ALI JINNAH : AN AMBASSADOR OF Unity : His Speeches and Writings. Ganesh & Co., Madras.

THE SANATANA DEFENCE SERIES No. 1. By G. Harischandra Row, Coconada.

SOCRATES (In Tamil). By R. Rangachariar, M.A. L.T. Vellore.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- June 23. The Hon. Mr. Surendranath Banerjee accepts the Presidentship of the National Liberal League.
- June 24. His Excellency the Viceroy presides at the annual meeting of the St. John Ambulance Association, Simla.
- June 25. At a recruiting meeting at Kaira Mr. Gandhi appeals and exhorts the audience to volunteer in large numbers in defence of the Empire.
- June 26. Von Khuelmann on peace proposals. Lord Curzon on the League of Nations.
- June 27. The *Observer*, Lahore, has been served with a notice under the defence of India Regulation and the paper ceases publication.
- June 28. Allied success in the Ancre sector. Austrian retreat from important positions.
- June 29. Labour Conference in London. Sensational speech by M. Kerensky.
- June 30. The first contingent of American troops arrived in Italy to-day.
Celebration in Bombay of the anniversary of the death of Dadabhai Naoroji.
- July 1. Mr. B. G. Tilak accepts the conditions for proceeding to England.
- July 2. H. E. the Viceroy received from the Secretary of State report of the discussions of the Imperial War Conference.
Death of Justice Shah Din at Lahore.
- July 3. H. E. Lord Ronaldshay replied in the Bengal Council to the allegations regarding treatment of Bengal detainees.
- July 4. H. E. the Governot of Bengal opened the annual meeting of the Bengal Provincial Agricultural Association at Calcutta.
- July 5. Sir S. P. Sinha interviewed by Reuter gives impressions of his views on the proposed reforms for India.
- July 6. The Hon. Mr. Justice T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar opened a new High School at Karaikudi.
- July 7. A new political Association called the Bangiya Jana Sabha or the Bengal People's Association has been inaugurated in Calcutta with Sir Rash Behari Ghose as President.
- July 8. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Constitutional Reforms was published to-day.
- July 9. Associated Press publishes important interviews *re* the Reforms.
- July 10. Messrs. Asaf Ali and Neik Ram, Home Rulers, Delhi, were arrested to-day.
- July 11. H. H. the Maharaja of Patiala's speech at the Mansion House, London.
- July 12. Opening of the Fifth Trichinopoly District Conference with Mr. George Joseph, Bar-at-law, presiding.
- July 13. The French retake Corey and other important positions.
- July 14. Italians in their counter-attack captured as many as 18,000 prisoners.
- July 15. The Maharaja of Patiala's views on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
Bombay Corporation meeting discusses Dr. Turner's report on the outbreak of influenza.
- July 16. Dr. H. S. Gour has been elected President of the Nagpur Municipality and Dr. M. R. Cholkar as Vice-President.
- July 17. Opening of the new German offensive.
Commander Wedgwood urges Indians to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.
- July 18. In a letter to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Shastri, Mr. Gandhi advises acceptance of the new reforms and urges increasing War work.
- July 19. Publication of the Rowlatt Committee Report.
Sinking of an American Cruiser.
- July 20. A wireless Russian official telegram says that the Ex-Tsar was shot dead by order of the Ural Regional Council.
- July 21. It is reported that almost all districts in Assam and East Bengal are in floods.
- July 22. A wireless message says that the enemy withdrew to the North bank of the Marne.

Literary

A WEEKLY WAR NEWSPAPER

As a part of the Publicity Campaign which was decided upon at the Delhi War Conference the United Provinces Government has decided to appoint a Publicity Bureau and a Committee to start a weekly War newspaper and organise cinema shows. Sir John Campbell, President of the War Board, will also be the Chairman of the Publicity Bureau and Committee which it is intended to make as representative as may be possible. The War paper will be in English, Urdu and Hindi and many thousands of copies will be distributed every week. The Rev. Dr. Garfield Williams, Principal of St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, will edit the paper with the assistance of Pandit S. N. Joshi of the *Leuler*.

PROF. ANDERSON ON BENGALI LITERATURE

Some of the Bengali short stories can very well be placed side by side with the best productions of Maupassant, Gautier, Balzac, Turgenev and other well-known European masters of short stories, says an up-country journal. Sir Rabindranath Tagore of course takes the first place in this particular branch of Bengali literature. After him comes several gifted writers of short stories among whom is Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, Bar-at-Law, author of a number of beautiful short stories scintillating with sparkling humour. Says Professor Anderson of his stories: "If anyone who knows a little Bengali will read, for instance, Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji's collection of short stories entitled "*Deshi-o-Bilati*," he will see how aptly modern Bengali can express Western thought and sentiment, and that without an excessive or ugly use of borrowed English words." Mr. Anderson is so charmed with these stories that he has contributed an appreciation of them to the *Times*. He says: "The book is written in

a language and an idiom strictly comparable with the clearest and most expressive French or English style. So is it also with the correspondence of educated Bengalis in their own language. Some of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's letters printed in the *Sabuj Patra* are admirable examples of pellucid statement and argument, such as are rare in all languages." Mr. Anderson concludes his letter with the following interesting observation: "We must be alive to the fact that India is developing modern languages and literatures which the West must soon take as seriously as those of the European nations."

UNCUT COPIES

In the April number of *Science Progress* Mr. John Murray writes:—

As regards uncut pages, there are very few books published nowadays with their pages uncut. For a fine book, I greatly prefer it in that form, as it leaves a margin of paper for trimming in the case of a book which one wishes to put into a good permanent binding later on. Moreover, for anyone with leisure to read, I think it is a positive luxury to cut the pages with a good paper-knife. I did this yesterday in the case of an old book which I had not taken from my shelves for many years, and enjoyed it thoroughly. Another objection to cut leaves in the old days was that certain people came into booksellers' shops and spent a long time there; in fact, they were able to get all they wanted out of a book without buying it! It was said that Southey could tear the heart out of a book by turning the leaves in a bookseller's shop. Many years ago my father subscribed for one of Darwin's books in two forms, with cut edges and uncut edges, and in those days the uncut edges found such favour with the booksellers that a preponderant amount were sold in that form. But now everybody is in a hurry, and uncut edges are gradually disappearing except in the case of fine books. I am sorry for it, but the uncut form must now be regarded as a "back number."

Educational

"ENTENTE CORDIALE" AMONG UNIVERSITIES

The Senate of the Bombay University have sanctioned the recognition of the Matriculation Examinations of the Calcutta, Madras, Allahabad and the Panjab Universities and the Entrance examination of the Mysore University as equivalent to the Matriculation of the Bombay University, provided the candidate has passed in a classical language. Intermediate Examinations in Arts and Sciences of other Universities will be henceforth recognised by the Bombay University in the case of such Universities reciprocating in similar recognition. Up to this time the Bombay University was recognising these examinations of other Universities for the purpose of qualification for admission into professional lines, viz., medicine, engineering and law, but not for the purpose of prosecuting further studies in Arts and Science courses. The present sanction removes a long-standing difficulty in the way of students coming from other Universities.

THE REVOLUTION IN ENGLISH EDUCATION

Dr. M. E. Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* (May 1918), describes the two currents in public feeling at the present time about English education. On the one hand there is a just sense of pride in the rapid development of secondary schools both for boys and girls, as well as of Universities and institutions which give advanced instruction in science as applied to industries. There is indeed much to be done before the system of secondary education can be regarded as entirely satisfactory, or Universities as adequately equipped for the great task of research, but still the whole outlook is much brighter than before. On the other hand there is a feeling of disappointment with some of the results of the elementary schools. Boys are not so accurate as they used to be, they do not display a sustained

interest in serious things. But the picture of the results of elementary education is far from being all dark. There is an increased orderliness in crowds, more self-command, less roughness and a stronger feeling for public order, for all of which the discipline and influence of elementary schools should receive great credit. The good sense and good temper of the Boy Scouts show what excellent material the elementary schools are turning out.

We need, perhaps more than anything else, a new spirit in our elementary schools. They are well-organized, but there is too little originality among them. They need more freedom—even freedom to make mistakes, freedom to get a more independent life. A school, if it is to do its utmost in forming character, needs to have a character, an individuality, of its own. The teachers, if trusted more and less restricted in their work by regulations, would bring greater freshness and spontaneity into the work of the schools.

But this is not an easy thing for the local authorities to give or for the teachers to use. If the plan were tried it would not mean less responsibility, but a far greater and a more expensive responsibility, both for the teachers and for the administrators. It would mean much harder work for all teachers, especially for the head teachers, because they would be exposed to much more public criticism, and have to deal with demands from the parents which, if reasonable, would tax the energies of the staff and, if unwise, would have to be considerably dealt with and not arbitrarily withstood. It would throw on the local authorities a duty of supervision much more delicate, discriminating and personal than that which is entailed by a more mechanical system of administration. The entrusting to the head teacher the responsibility of choosing his own assistants would complicate the administrative machinery to an extreme degree.

Legal

INDIAN AND ENGLISH JUDGES

Mr. Eardley Norton writes in the *Looker-On*:—

Madras has pre-eminently justified the elevation of the Indian lawyer to the High Court Bench. As I recall the men before whom I practised, Muthusami Aiyar, Subramania Aiyar, Bhashyam Aiyangar, Sankaran Nair, Krishnasawmi Aiyar and Sundram Aiyar, of whom only two are alive to-day, I recognise not merely an intellectuality in nowise inferior to English judicial requirements but that earnest and patient desire to do right uninfluenced by political or other considerations which is the pride and glory of the English Courts.

The swift and subtle queries from the Bench, the undying alertness of the Judge, made an excellent training for aspiring youth. There was no sleeping on the Bench. It was wide awake from start to finish and it banished all spasms of sleepiness at the Bar. If in the line of promotion all the Judges I have mentioned save one were Brahmans, the reason is obvious. For long years the Brahmana has absorbed education where the non-Brahmana has been content to eschew books upon law for books of account. When promotion offered there was really no choice. The Government of Madras, in this respect at least loyal to its obligations to the State, selected in every instance the best man for the place. No one will gainsay the Government choice from Muthusami to Sundaram Aiyar. Each nominee was admirably qualified for his post, and I dare venture to affirm that each emerged triumphantly from comparison with his English colleagues. When men tell me the Indian cannot be trusted, that his only aptitude for high office is a phenomenal memory and a smell of the lamp, I unroll in my magic lantern the scroll of the Indian Judges under whom I have served. And if it be urged that while in law they have established their

credentials because they dedicate to text books the time Englishmen consecrate to the bridge-room and polo, to the ball-room and sports, I still stand unconvinced. When they have been given the opportunity they have struck home. With still larger kingdoms to rule, they will establish more firmly their claims to be entrusted with still greater responsibilities. I am no votary of Home Rule as that phrase seems to be understood. But I think we Englishmen would exhibit truer political sagacity and translate more faithfully our duties to the great and solemn trust we have annexed if we stretched out a helping hand to the human products our own teaching has created, fostered and developed.

HON. MR. JUSTICE SHAH DIN

The death occurred on July 4th at Lahore at his residence in Mozung Road, of the Hon. Mr. Justice Shah Din from tuberculosis from which the deceased was suffering for some time, and on account of which he took couple of months' leave. The deceased had a distinguished career and was, before his elevation to the Bench in 1908, the leader of the Muhammadan community in the province.

JAIL ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL

The following is from the annual report on Jail Administration in Bengal for 1917:—

• The increase in Jail population which has continued for some years past is again noticeable. Admissions during the year were 84,716 as compared with 80,828 in 1916 while average daily population in 1917 was 15,929 as compared with 15,546 in previous year. The statistics are, however, affected by serious outbreak of *but* looting which took place in several districts during November and December 1917 with the result that on 31st December 1917 there were nearly 3,000 under-trial prisoners in Bengal jails or more than double the ordinary number. The actual number of convicts admitted during 1917 did not greatly exceed those of the previous years.

Medical

MR. MONTAGU ON THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE

On June 27th, Mr. Montagu received a deputation of the British Medical Association, headed by Sir T. Allbutt, which submitted a statement of the present unsatisfactory condition of the Indian Medical Service and their unfavourable influence on recruiting for that service.

Mr. Montagu replying expressed sympathy with the speakers' views which he promised fully to communicate to the Government of India. He was fully convinced that there should be an efficient Medical Service in the interests not only of the European Government officials but also and chiefly of the people in India. Owing to the War the conditions were at present abnormal, but when they became normal again the Service must be put on a footing to attract medical men of the capacity that India requires. In the first place an opportunity must be given to the medical officers not only to serve India in the hospitals, but also to advance the boundaries of medicine by research.

With regard to private practice while he accepted the legal view that there was no statutory right, so far from objecting to it he believed that competition would be advantageous and thought the matter should be left where it was. The remuneration of the Indian medical men should be adequate. Something had already been done on the military side but the civil side presented greater difficulties at present. A decision had not yet been reached on that point. The establishment must be made sufficient to provide leave both for study and ordinary purposes, and increased opportunities must be given to the Indians to enter the Service but an adequate proportion of European officers should be preserved both for the sake of European officials and in order to maintain the standard of the Service.

TREATMENT OF INFLUENZA

There is no routine treatment for influenza except bed, writes the author of the article on Influenza in the "Encyclopædia Britannica." In all cases bed is advisable, because of the danger of lung complications, and in mild ones it is sufficient. Severer ones must be treated according to the symptoms. Quinine has been much used. Modern "antipyretic" drugs (aspirin, phenacetin, etc.) have also been extensively employed, and when applied with discretion they may be useful, but patients are not advised to prescribe them for themselves.

Sir William Brodbent in a note on the prophylaxis of influenza recommends quinine in a dose of two grammes every morning and remarks: "I have had opportunities of obtaining extraordinary evidence of its protective power. In a large public school it was ordered to be taken every morning. Some of the boys in the school were home boarders, and it was found that while the boarders at the school took the quinine in the presence of a master every morning, there were scarcely any cases of influenza among them, although the home boarders suffered nearly as much as before." He continues: "In a large girls' school near London the same thing was ordered and the girls and mistresses took their morning dose but the servants were forgotten. The result was that scarcely any girl or mistress suffered, while the servants were all down with influenza."

The liability to contract influenza and the danger of an attack, if contracted, are increased by depressing conditions, such as exposure to cold and to fatigue, whether mental or physical. Attention should, therefore, be paid to all measures tending to the maintenance of health. Persons who are attacked by influenza should at once seek rest, warmth and medical treatment, and they should bear in mind that the risk of relapse, with serious complications, constitutes the chief danger of the disease.

Science

SCIENCE IN ORDINARY LIFE*

The *Educational Times* for May 1918 advocates a course of general science for all English children from 12 to 14 years of age for the last two years in the elementary school, or the first two in the secondary school or in the continuation classes. Such a course would serve as a minimum of useful knowledge in ordinary life and also as a groundwork for future study of technical subjects or of more systematic science. It should be a simple, general and useful preliminary course of chemistry and physics, based chiefly on observation and previous experience and taught in the same way as nature-study is taken with younger children. When they realize that definite mathematical forces are used in the turning of a handle or a wheel, in the opening of a window, the pulling up of a blind, the hanging of a picture, the use of a poker, spade, oar, corkscrew, scissors and sugar tongs, and in the working of a sewing machine, bicycle, see-saw, and swing, they will understand that science is something living and real, and that ordinary life is full of wonder and interest. They can also be taught in a simple way the supporting power of air and water in connexion with aeroplanes, boats and submarines, the action of the air in breathing, burning, and decay, about fuels and illuminants, coal, coke, coal gas, coal tar, and aniline dyes; water and distillation; rain, springs, rivers, hard and soft water; washing materials, as soap, soda, starch, and bleaching powder; the properties and uses of various chemicals and gases; the uses of different metals; the nature and cooking of different food materials, as meat, milk, eggs, vegetables, grains, fruit, sugar, fats and oils; the action of dry meat and hot water on these, and the manufacture of cotton, woollen, silk, and leather goods, paper, glass, and china.

Though this course covers a wide range, it need

not be superficial; it should concentrate the attention on the great principles of science, which should be illustrated and explained very fully. It is intended to serve as the groundwork in science, and the training in scientific method, which are needed as a basis for the intelligent study of other subjects. Geography, housecraft, hygiene, cookery, nursing, gardening, and mathematics, as well as the ordinary sciences, all need a general preliminary knowledge of chemistry and physics. These can be taught in an easy, attractive way from general observation, just as Nature study is taught as an introduction to the more systematic study of Botany and Zoology.

THE LATEST MOTOR FIELD-KITCHEN

There are many and various types of motor cook-houses of ingenious construction in use in the battle areas of Europe, and the latest emanates from America. This is a motor field-kitchen which is capable of serving three hot meals a day to two thousand men. The cooking utensils consist of two ninety-gallon kettles for stew or fruit, and two coffee-urns, each of fifty gallons capacity, all heated by steam. The steam is derived from a boiler of ten horse-power, and the chassis is driven by a powerful motor, which gives it a speed of nearly fifteen miles an hour. Two of the field-kitchens are capable of feeding a full regiment, either in camp or on the march; and one, with its complement of two cooks, is said to carry out operations previously requiring two kitchen units of eighty men and forty horses. At a recent demonstration at Newhaven, Connecticut, one thousand seven hundred and fifty men were fed in less than an hour. An electric dynamo is to be added to the equipment, which will be driven by the motor when the kitchen is stationary. Enough electricity will be available from this source to light up the men's quarters, and to operate a searchlight and a field wireless station.

Personal

TRIBUTES TO SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN

The following tributes to the memory of the late Sir William Wedderburn have been culled from the pages of *India* :—

SAHEBZADA AFTAB AHMED KHAN

Sir William represented that rare type of an English gentleman which, in my opinion, is the best fruit of centuries of freedom and success for which England stands unrivalled among all the nations of the world, whether ancient or modern. In fact, in all the romantic and unique story of England's wonderful work in India nothing stands out with such shining and ever-lasting brilliancy as the great and historical part played by a succession of those noble Englishmen who fought heroically for right against wrong, not for themselves or for their nation, but for a foreign subject people against their own countrymen.

He served India for about twenty-five years as one of its rulers, and for over thirty years as its friend, but whether as a ruler or as a friend, he was always its best well-wisher and guide to the very last. And now when he is gone he leaves behind him a precious heritage for his country in the shape of united and universal gratitude on the part of the Indian people for his great life's work and their deeply felt regret at his sad demise.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE, K.C.I.E.

Every inch a noble man, from the first day of his connection with India to the last moment of his life, he laboured for her welfare in manifold ways with a courage which no obstacles or opposition could daunt, and a selflessness untinged by personal ambition in the faintest degree. Indeed, the sacrifice of time and money and energy which he made even after his retirement from India to serve her interests, affords unmistakable proof of the sincerity of the one purpose of his life to ameliorate her condition.

MR. C. J. O'DONNELL

Sir William Wedderburn gave all his life, from early manhood to advanced old age, to India, and his last days saw clearly that his labours were bearing the long-wished-for fruit. It is not too much to say that he, more even than any Indian, has been the parent of the national awakening that, before the end came, his eyes had the joy of seeing. India is, in truth, now once again a nation from coast to coast, and no province and no race within it should forget the inestimable services Sir William Wedderburn rendered her for over half a century.

DR. G. B. CLARK

He was a man of transparent honesty, but, though he held advanced opinions, his kindly and sympathetic nature endeared him not only to his colleagues but also to his political opponents. He had considerable influence at the India Office, and several of the Secretaries of State for India have availed themselves of his experience and counsel. He had the happiness, denied to many reformers, of seeing the realisation of much that he had worked for. The world and India are the poorer for his loss.

RT. HON. SYED AMEER ALI

He was a staunch friend of India, and his loss at a time when wise direction and experienced counsel are so necessary for the guidance of the leaders of thought in that country, will be irreparable. I desire to express my great sorrow at the loss of such a friend, both on personal and public grounds.

SIR PRADHASHANKAR PATTANI, K.C.I.E.

His sympathies for our country were very sincere, and it would be impossible to find another friend to fill his place. He was at heart a greater Indian than the staunchest of Indians. We loved him dearly, and we shall now bemoan him deeply.

SIR LAWRENCE JENKINS

India has lost a very firm and true friend, whose single-minded loyalty to her never wavered.

Political

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN AND THE REFORMS

The following appreciations of Sir William Wedderburn are extracted from letters and messages of sympathy read at the London Memorial Meeting.

LORD COURTNEY OF PENWITH

The mission of Mr. Montagu is the last illustration of a monumental change to which Sir William Wedderburn incessantly contributed. Lord Crewe did indeed attend the King in his Durbar at Delhi, but this was a great pageantry not primarily occupied with fundamental problems of State. The visit now in progress of the Secretary of State is essentially an enquiry and a consultation. I look upon it as the last evidence of the spirit of our friend yet working. It may be almost called the reward of his patience and his persistence. The assiduous intermediary, quiet and even slow in his strategic approaches, may well have felt that his work was crowned with success when the Secretary of State and the Governor-General met together in Calcutta to discuss and determine the re-organisation of the Government of India.

SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E.

Sir William exercised an elevating and unifying influence over Indians of all schools of political thought. He leaves us at a time when the harvest of the sustained and arduous work of his life-time shows signs of maturing. I know with what hopeful anticipations he rejoiced at the visit of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Charles Roberts to India. It is very sad to reflect that he has not been spared to see the developments, which we are all looking forward to, as the result of that visit. Sir William's memory will be reverently and affectionately cherished by millions of grateful hearts in India, and generations yet unborn will come to know what a true friend he was of their country.

MR. A. YUSUF ALI, C.B.E.

His loss at any time would have been irreparable. At the present juncture, when great schemes for the future of India are being hammered out on the constitutional anvil, his help and advice would have been invaluable to the popular party in India, and also to the authorities in India and at Whitehall.

But all who knew him intimately are aware how much influence he was able to bring to bear in Government circles on Indian matters while he was in Parliament, and how ceaselessly though quietly he continued to work for our dear Motherland, to the last moment of his busy life.

MR. GEORGE LANSBURY

He was one of those who quite early on in the agitation for justice for India were able to take a prominent leading part in the work of educating the British public. It was not so easy to talk about Home Rule for India in the days when our friend championed the cause of the people of that country, and those of us who are now actively engaged in carrying on this work owe him and those who, like him, were pioneers in the movement, a great debt of gratitude.

SHAIKH MUSHIR HUSAIN KIDWAI OF GADIA

The death of Sir William Wedderburn is a sad loss not only to India but to the British Empire. It is a sad loss for the British nation. It is a great pity that those links which brought India nearer to England have been breaking lately one by one. It is most unfortunate that those links have so far not been replaced. It is not easy to find men of such largeheartedness as Sir Henry Cotton, Mr. Keir Hardie and Sir William Wedderburn. Their sincerity and their love of liberty for all people, whatever their colour and creed, were undoubtedly uncommon qualities. But will the British people let their places remain unfilled? Even when India gets Home Rule, such men will be needed. They are assets not only to individual nations, but to the whole of humanity.

General

SIR WILLIAM WEDDERBURN'S CHARACTER

The following further appreciations of Sir William's character will be read with interest:—

MR. T. HART DAVIES

Many in his own service differed from him in his views of the future of India, but I never heard one word of disparagement of the lofty unselfishness of his aims, of the purity of his motives, and what Matthew Arnold called the "sweet reasonableness" of his character. To us who deeply sympathised with him in his political ideas he was ever an inspiration, and an incentive to further work for India, and to those who are young and will carry on the work that he and Mr. Hume so nobly initiated "he being dead will yet speak."

DR. V. H. RUTHERFORD

Firm in temper, patient in perseverance, brave in faith, Sir William Wedderburn will always shine as a star in the struggle for Indian freedom and independence.

MR. S. K. RATCLIFFE.

He is a very great loss. There can hardly be another instance in our time of such sustained and absorbed devotion to the cause of India on the part of a British public servant. I do not suppose there was a day in his life during something like 60 years when India was not in his thoughts, stimulating him to some act of kindness, sympathy or of co-operation with his friends and fellow-labourers in the same cause. And when one thinks of his immovable patience and restraint and tolerance, his entire freedom from bitterness or pettiness, and the wonderful fineness and sweetness with which from beginning to end he stood up against ignorant and malicious attack—one can only marvel, and try to express a fraction of the admiration and gratitude that are due to his memory.

MR. S. H. SWINNY

Those who had the privilege of working with him were struck especially by his strong sense of justice and his inflexible constancy and perseverance. However slowly the cause of India seemed to move, he never lost hope; he never failed to do whatever could be done, were it much or little; and he lived to see many of his hopes fulfilled. His fidelity to principle was united with a conciliatory spirit alike towards open enemies and carping friends. His equanimity was wonderful and his courtesy unailing; and he had, as a young Indian once put it to me, "a heart of gold."

MR. ST. NIHAL SINGH

As years of friendship with Sir William sped by, I felt more and more that no one temporarily depressed by the forces of reaction could find a better tonic than a conversation with that genial, fatherly Liberal.

Other Englishmen have drawn their pay and pensions from India for a longer time: but who among them all returned to India the money that he had received with so high a rate of compound interest as did Sir William Wedderburn? His thoughts in his waking hours, and even in his sleep, were of India's advancement. On frequent occasions I have known him to dip deep into his pocket to help causes to which he was devoting his time, his talents and his experience.

MR. A. J. WILSON

I revered Sir W. Wedderburn, a man of high ideals and noble character whose memory I shall cherish while I live. . . . The claims of India are threatened with submergence in the present state of our affairs, but India will emerge again, and a better spirit will arise among men and nations when the battle fury ends, as it must ere long. Then justice will be done, and not in India alone, but among all races and nations of men. Sorry am I that Sir William Wedderburn has not been permitted to live to welcome that better time.

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THE REFORM SCHEME

BY MR. G. A. NATESAN

It is now six weeks since the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals were published; and a huge pile of literature has grown on the subject of Indian Constitutional Reforms. Veteran publicists who have for years been actively endeavouring to promote the political advancement of the country have accorded to the proposals their general support. And so have almost all the Presidents of the Congress. Sir S. P. Sinha is satisfied that in the scheme "we have the pledge of substantial steps" towards responsible government and that "as soon as possible." The Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea has no doubt "that it marks a definite stage towards the progressive realisation of responsible government." The Hon. Sir Dinshaw Wacha, the Hon. Rao Bahadur Mudholkar and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar testify that it is "a progressive measure." The Hon. Mr. Amvika Charan Mazumdar affirms that "however imperfect they may be, the proposals are sure to prove a real step in advance." The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya avers that "so far as the proposals go they constitute a large and liberal measure of reform which we should be grateful for." Among the signatories of the now famous Memorandum of the Nineteen, besides some of the ex-Presidents of the Congress and of the Moslem League there are a number of members of the Imperial Legislative Council and these also approve of the scheme in general though as might be expected with necessary modifications. The Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has welcomed and generally supported the proposals as "firmly and wisely conceived." So do

the other numbers of the Viceregal Council: The Hon. Mr. Mazar-ul-Haque, the Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, the Hon. Mr. Sarma, the Hon. Mir Asad Ali Khan, the Hon. Sir G. M. Chitnavis, Hon. Mr. Shukul and others. Leaders of the Indian mercantile community like the Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy, Sir Rajendranath Mukherjee, the Hon. Rai Sitanath Rai Bahadur, Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy and others have given it as their opinion that the "scheme is well conceived and will meet, though not fully, the aspirations of all sections of the community." Besides the testimony of a number of members of the various Provincial Legislative Councils, we have the opinion of, among other publicists the foremost of them, Mr. Gandhi, who considers "that both Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have been inspired by an honest desire for a due fulfilment of the Declaration of the 20th August and for the welfare of India." Representatives of the Land-holders in various parts of India have supported the proposals, though urging provisions for the special representation of their interests. The Maharajah of Patiala's commendation of the Scheme may be taken to represent the views of the ruling Princes of India. And it is noteworthy that in a very able memorandum drawn up on behalf of the Bombay backward classes and signed among others by the Hon. Mr. G. D. Naik, it is stated, "at the outset we feel confident that we are in complete accord with the principal idea underlying the scheme," though, as one would naturally expect, they are most anxious to have a special representation for them. In the face of such a general welcome to the scheme by

leading men of all classes and creeds and of varied interests, it is not surprising that even the few who originally cried aloud for "rejection" have reconsidered their views, taken wise counsel, and abandoned the idea of rejection as perilous.

Indeed thoughtful men all over the country have accepted the scheme as the basis for discussion and have been busily engaged in offering constructive suggestions for improving it.

Even a cursory perusal of the criticisms will show that there is complete unanimity of opinion that the reforms proposed in regard to the Government of India are of the feeblest and of the most unsatisfactory character.

As Sir Dinshaw Wacha and his colleagues have pointed out in their very able and telling Memorandum, the Reforms of the Government of India are altogether based on a wrong formula for which there is no justification in the terms of the announcement of August 20. The distinguished authors of the Report have given absolutely no valid reason as to why "the Government of India *must* remain *wholly* responsible to Parliament," and why even the *beginnings* of responsible Government should be withheld in the Government of India.

It is entirely wrong in principle and is bound to lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness at the centre of the body politic, which would react on the freedom, elasticity and growth of provincial administrations.

Further :

A legislature with a two-thirds elected element therein but in all important matters retaining the characteristics of the Morley-Minto model, that is to say, mere 'criticism unchecked by responsibility' has its perils, and should not be allowed to continue long in this position of irresponsibility. Otherwise there would be a break-down of the machinery long before it is re-adjusted to new requirements at the end of the interval deemed essential by the authors of the formula.

In the words of the Hon. Mr. Sastri :

The case for introducing the principle of responsible government in the national as well as the provincial sphere is complete. Without it the scheme would be inconsistent with itself; the spirit of the August declaration will not have been fully vindicated; and England will be unable to claim that she has set India firmly on the road to self-government. For how could it be claimed in the Peace

Conference or elsewhere that the principle of self-determination was applied to the case of India while a mere seed thereof was sown in the Provincial fields. * * The third formula must go. It rests on an unsound reasoning and must fall before a combined assault on the part of the Indian leaders.

There is intense disappointment too at the omission of a definite pronouncement with regard to Fiscal Autonomy. It is the thing on which the entire country has been keen for years. It is the absence of it that has caused Indian interests often to be victimised to propitiate other vested interests. The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy voices the general feeling of the country when he says :

Consistent with Imperial interests, it should be possible to formulate a scheme of scientific tariffs dictated by the interests of India. I cannot help thinking that if a radical change of policy had been outlined in regard to fiscal matters, the disappointment of the public at certain features of the scheme in the reform should not have been so keenly felt.

Surely it would be no exaggeration to say that unless a great measure of popular control is given to the people in the central legislature, the scheme as a whole will not be acceptable to the country at large. Opinion too is fairly unanimous that the Council of State must go. It is justly regarded as "a discredited device" and second chambers have, on the whole, been far from successful, and there is an apprehension that it may "lead to heat, irritation and bad blood, imperilling the constitution itself." It has evidently been conceived as "an antidote to the elective majority in the Legislative Assembly," and "to serve as a screen, thin though it be, to cover the continuance of the present system of Government." If this ill-fated second chamber is to remain at all, the elected element in it should be strengthened and it should be shorn of some at least of the powers proposed to be conferred on it.

With regard to the proposed changes concerning provincial governments, the general opinion of the country is clear. The number of reserved subjects must be as few as possible, especially so in regard to the major provinces; Ministers must be allowed the same status and salary as members of the Executive Council; the proposal to have

members of the Executive Government without portfolios should be given up; in the legislative assemblies there should be a substantial majority of elected members, as otherwise there could be no boast of real autonomy; power must be given to the Assemblies to raise debates on definite matters of public interest; they should also have the power to insist on the Governor calling a meeting of the Assembly at stated intervals. The Governor should not be the President of the Legislative Assembly, but if this is not complied with, at least the Vice-President should be elected by that body. The feeling is quite keen against the institution of the Grand Committees. The proposal to have reserved and transferred subjects is tolerated solely because it is expressly said to be provisional.

In regard to the proportion of Indians in the Services the Congress-League claim for the immediate grant to the Indians of 50 per cent of the higher posts in the Civil Services is regarded at least for the present as a more equitable proportion. India is admittedly the poorest country in the world and the Civil Service the costliest. It will be a grievous wrong to the Indian tax-payer to propose any further increase in the salaries and pensions of the Civil Service even if it was intended to console the bureaucracy for the loss of power and prestige which the scheme undoubtedly contemplates.

The claim advanced in the Report that the real guardians of the masses of India are the bureaucracy and not the natural leaders of the people is responsible for not a little of the unfavourable criticism to which the Report has been subjected. More than anything else the chapter in which special powers are recommended for protecting the interests of Europeans, Christian Missionaries and the domiciled communities have given rise to a good deal of just resentment.

The pride and self-respect of Indians, made almost morbid by the humiliation of generations, are cruelly mortified by the disabilities of one kind or another, under which they labour in their own country. When shall there be real equality between man and man, is the cry of anguish that goes up from many a wounded heart. The one appeal that we would make to all who wield authority over India is to put an end to all privilege, whether it be due to birth or race or religion.

In stating this the Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri is but echoing the unanimous voice of the country.

There is no use concealing the fact that every self-respecting Indian resents the theory of divided interests. As Mr. Gandhi points out in regard to the nervousness of the authorities to protect what are called special interests:


One cannot help noticing an unfortunate suspicion of our intentions regarding the purely British as distinguished from the purely Indian interests. Hence, there is to be seen in the scheme elaborate reservations on behalf of these interests. I think that more than anything else it is necessary to have an honest, frank and straightforward understanding about these interests and for me personally this is of much greater importance than any legislative feat that British talent alone or a combination of British and Indian talent may be capable of performing. I would certainly, in as courteous terms as possible, but equally emphatic, say that these interests will be held subservient to those of India as a whole and that therefore they are certainly in jeopardy in so far as they may be inconsistent with the general advance of India.

Indians very rightly claim that where the interests of India and England conflict the interests of India should not be subordinated to those of England; and Britishers should not forget what John Bright was never tired of repeating that the good of England must come through the channels of the good of India.

In the past it has been our melancholy experience that many a great scheme nobly planned has been shorn of its beneficence at the hands of the bureaucracy by the narrow and petty-fogging spirit in which they have been interpreted and worked; Parliament cannot be too careful in providing safeguards against "the hazards of bureaucratic jealousy." The Pronouncement of August 20 has justly been regarded by the educated classes in India as a pledge binding the Imperial Government in regard to its future relations with India. Mr. Curtis rightly warned the British public when he said, "Our danger lies in pledges being so framed that mere delay and failure to take the necessary steps forthwith will expose us to a charge of breach of faith." Hence the insistence by politicians of all classes and creeds that adequate assurance should be given, that full responsible government shall be established in India within a reasonable period.

INDIANS AND THE COLONIES*

BY MR. M. K. GANDHI

 THE Imperial Conference Resolution on the status of our countrymen emigrating to the Colonies reads well on the surface, but it is highly deceptive. We need not consider it a great achievement that we can pass the same laws against the colonials that they may pass against us. It is like a giant telling a dwarf that the latter is free to give blow for blow. Who is to refuse permission and passports to the colonials desiring to enter India? But Indians, no matter what their attainments are constantly being refused permission to enter the colonies even for temporary periods. South African legislation of emigration was purged of the racial taint, by the passive resistance movement. But the administrative principles still continue and will do so, so long as India remains both in name and substance a dependency.

The agreement arrived at regarding those who are already domiciled practically restates the terms of the settlement of 1914. If it extends to Canada and Australia it is a decided gain, for in Canada till recently there was a big agitation owing to the refusal of its Government to admit the wives and children of its Sikh settlers. I may perhaps add that the South African settlement provides for the protection of those who had


* The text of the Resolution passed by the Imperial Conference appears elsewhere.

plural wives before the settlement, especially if the latter had at any time entered South Africa. It may be the proper thing in a predominantly Christian country to confine the legality to only one wife. But it is necessary even for that country, in the interests of humanity and for the sake of friendship for members of the same Imperial Federation to which they belong administratively, to allow the admission of plural wives and their progeny.

The above agreement still evades the question of inequality of status in other matters:—Thus the difficulty of obtaining licenses throughout South Africa, the prohibition to hold landed property in the Transvaal and the Free State and virtual prohibition within the Union itself of the entry of Indians into the Free States, the prohibition of Indian children to enter the ordinary Government schools, deprivation of Municipal franchise in the Transvaal and the Free State and practical deprivation of the Union franchise throughout South Africa, barring perhaps the Cape. The resolutions of the Imperial Conference therefore are decidedly an eye-wash. There is no change of heart in the colonies and certainly no recognition of Imperial obligations regarding India. The Fijian atrocities to which Mr. Andrews has drawn pointed attention show what is possible even in the Crown colonies which are under direct Imperial Control.

THE ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

 THE change in the military situation in the course of the last two months must appear somewhat bewildering to the man in the street, who whatever his sympathies, may be perhaps not entirely guiltless of sharing with the German people a certain belief in the legend of German invincibility. To such an one it must come as a pleasant surprise to read of the Allies making huge captures of prisoners and material and over-running a considerable extent of territory with an ease of which only the German High Command was hitherto believed to hold the secret. As a matter of fact, of course, no serious student of the War could tolerate for a moment any such pretentious claims for German generalship. They have had the half of adventitious circumstances which have enabled them to rear

up a legend of victory which is one of their most valuable assets in preserving the morale of a starving people. It is not necessary to dwell on these circumstances except one the elimination of which may largely be ascribed to the changed military situation. The German general strategy was better than that of the Allies hitherto, because it was the work of a single command. The Allies have learnt in the school of necessity the bitter lesson that unity of front is the first condition of success, and the appointment of General Foch as Generalissimo after the opening disaster of the year's campaign came none too soon. Since that appointment there has been perceptible in the Allied strategy a certain unity of purpose and execution that no amount of cordiality between independent commands could have produced.

In General Foch also the *Entente* found a soldier whose reputation has survived four years of War. His selection has been amply and brilliantly justified in the changed situation of the present day from that three months earlier. The Germans have failed in their object and the last Allied counter-offensive was by way of impressing this fact upon the world at large and the German people in particular. It must be remembered that the Germans started this year's campaign with certain advantages. In 1916 they were in a position of numerical inferiority. In 1918, owing to the defection of Russia, they had about a million and a half troops to spare. These they proposed to use in bringing the War to a close at the earliest possible moment, which for them depended upon when they could seize the moment when their strength was at its maximum and the Allies' at the minimum. Since Germany could not hope for a successful issue once the American man-power began seriously to tell, it was obviously necessary that the decision should be attained in the course of the present year and as early in the season as possible. As regards what may be said to constitute a decision this may be placed in two categories. A decision could only be arrived at by destroying the enemy's powers of resistance or his morale. The German objectives were therefore either to inflict such heavy losses on the Allies' Armies as to make them incapable of further resistance or, if that remained still effective, or if diminished, in the alternative, to drive them back to such a point that they may uncover some vital place of strategic or political importance such as the channel ports or Paris. It is important to grasp this primary question of objective, for the measure of the German defeat is the measure of the magnitude of their objective. In spite of the ease of their first successes and the large captures of prisoners and material they made and in spite of the depths of their advance, these could only be judged from the stand-point of their effect upon the attainment of their objective. If owing to any cause their effect could be nullified, the German defeat would be none the less palpable because of these early victories. This, then, was the cardinal principle of General Foch's strategy to prevent the enemy exploiting his successes so as to convert them into anything decisive. He was faced with an immediate inferiority in reserves with the promise of American reinforcement to become effective later in the year. He had to husband these reserves so as not to be too weak to withstand the final shock and yet prevent the

enemy reaching any of his strategical objectives. The present allied victory on the Somme is the best answer to the question of how General Foch carried out one of the most difficult tasks set before any General since the end of 1914, for it is the inevitable outcome of his brilliant Generalship and not a mere chance of success. General Foch has invariably pursued his policy of preserving his mass of manoeuvre intact for the final blow even at the cost of allowing the enemy to make a dangerous advance. It was a bold game to play, for miscalculation meant disaster but it succeeded to perfection. The allied reserves always managed to come up at the critical moment and established the front confining the German reserves in deep and narrow salients, the dangers of which are obvious. It was when the last of these salients had been created and all the enemy's efforts to have fallen it out had failed, that General Foch felt himself strong enough to teach the enemy an object lesson on the disadvantages of salients whose flanks are too strong to be pushed back. The position by the middle of July had become considerably easier for him. American reserves had hurried in in enormous numbers. The enemy had exhausted more than half his reserves in his various efforts. His own reserves had been augmented in spite of losses and he therefore determined on a counter-stroke in the Aisne-Marne region. We need not go into the details of the fighting here save to remark that the strategical objective was achieved. The enemy was caught in a trap and suffered very heavily drawing freely upon his remaining reserves which had been concentrated on the Somme sector, to extricate him from the trap. This gave Foch another opportunity for scoring a surprise attack on the flank of the most dangerous salient, the Albert-Montdidier-Noyon, and attained a success which was nothing short of marvellous, some twenty-five thousand prisoners and over 600 guns with an enormous mass of material being taken. The strategy in this battle was as at the Aisne-Marne region, one of pinching off a salient. The first attack being a surprise attained a depth of twelve miles and being followed up by an attack on Montdidier-Lassigny flank, the elimination of the salient was accomplished. Brilliant as the operation was considered by itself, its true significance lies rather in its bearing upon the general situation. It is Marshal Foch's title to fame. It is more important as indicating the definite failure of the German plans. It is an excellent augury as the first of the Allies' counter-strokes,

ITALY AND THE SLAVS

BY

THE REV. ARTHUR R. SLATER

PROBABLY the most striking proof of the efficacy of unofficial diplomacy in preparing the ground for a real diplomatic triumph has been given in the important Rome Congress which has made a considerable contribution toward the solution of after-war problems, as well as removing serious misunderstandings between the members of the *Entente*. It is well-known that the relations between the Jugo-Slavs and the Italians, notably the extreme Imperialists, have been very constrained during the past two years, and this feeling has necessarily made the co-operation of the Slavs more difficult. Italy laid claim to extensive tracts on the Dalmatia side of the Adriatic Sea, and while it may be true that there are very close historical associations between the Italians and the peoples of these districts, it could not be denied that the whole of the North Dalmatia country is inhabited by a purely Slav people and is the very stronghold of Jugo-Slav National Movement. The Allies, anxious to gain the co-operation of Italy in the war, were persuaded to grant the demands of Italy in regard to this disputed country. This treaty has, of course, since been repudiated by both parties, though for a long time, its existence was fruitful of serious misunderstandings. By the wise and persistent work of a number of leading Italians and Jugo-Slavs, there has come an entirely different feeling among all classes, and it has now been possible for the contending parties to meet in Conference, and settle the outstanding disputes. Italy attaches very great importance to the friendship of the Jugo-Slavs, both from a political and commercial point of view, and the reasonable attitude taken by the various parties has made it clear to both nationalities that their futures lies in co-operation, not dissession. The fortuitous meeting of a few Italian and Slav exiles in a Swiss town several months ago has initiated a movement fraught with immense possibilities both to Italy and the nationalities now under the heel of Austria. The Conference in Rome was made possible by the steady propaganda of these far-seeing men, and it has ended "with a success which would have been regarded as unattainable a few months ago. Italian-Jugo-Slavs, Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, and Roumanians have found that they have common interests and common enemies." While the agreements reached respecting the attitude of these parties to Austria,

certainly one of the heaviest blows that country has received in the War, are of the utmost importance to the Allies, the object of this article is to briefly deal with the question as far as it affects the Italians and the Slavs. The Conference consisted of some forty representatives of all the nationalities subject to Austria, as well as Italy and Serbia and the Allies; and the question, as far as it referred to the Italy-Slav situation, was discussed by all, and the agreements appear to be unanimous. The findings of such a conference cannot, of course, be final, for it will be necessary for the two Governments, through the proper channels, to translate this agreement into a fact.

The Committee for the Italian-Jugo-Slav *Entente* sent among its delegates, Signor Canepa, an ex-Minister, and Professor Salvemini. The whole force of the great political associations, including hundreds of senators and deputies on which the Italian Government depends, gave its support. The Radical Group in the Chamber, the Reformist Socialists, even the Nationalists, sent delegates. The Prime Minister, Signors Bissoleti and Comandini gave their warm approval. Famous Italian patriotic associations were represented, so that it may safely be taken for granted, that the conclusions reached by this representative body will speedily be accepted by the Government. In the *Entente* countries, as well as among neutrals, this agreement has been welcomed with enthusiasm. Reference may be made to a notable speech by Lord Robert Cecil, who spoke as the representative of the British Foreign Office. "I believe that the Congress was valuable for its wisdom and moderation. I believe it was valuable for the spirit of brotherhood which it displayed. But above all I welcome it because it showed that the Italian Government, as expressed by the speech of the Italian Prime Minister, recognise to the full that the principles on which the Kingdom of Italy was founded were not only of local application, but extend to international relations. Italy has shown herself ready to extend to the Poles, to those gallant Czecho-Slovaks, to the Roumanians, and last but not least, to the Jugo-Slavs, the principles on which her own 'Risorgimento' was founded, and on which she may still forward to a greater future than she has even seen in the past." Such a speech will prove a fine piece of propaganda for

Austria-Hungary, and it will largely reinforce the efforts already being made on the Italian front, and thus contribute to the growing disintegration of the Habsburg battalions which is fast becoming one of the greatest of Austrian military problems.

Great harm was done by the extravagant claims put forward by partisans on either side and by the failure hitherto to establish anything like a friendly understanding on debatable questions. When Italy entered the War in May, 1915, the enmity of Latin and Slav on the shores of the Adriatic was in full flame, and there seemed every probability of its causing a real dissension between the Allies. The Southern Slav hated the Italian in Dalmatia as an Imperialist usurper, the Italian denounced the Southern Slavs as the Cossacks of Austria, brutally overwhelming a superior culture by sheer force of numbers. The Austrian rulers have naturally fostered this feeling to the utmost, and have not been without success. By the wise propaganda of those patriots who recognised that not only was it due to the Italians to conform to the principles they declared themselves to be fighting for, but also that the friendship of the two nationalities was essential to their future commercial prosperity, has brought about a change which is little short of marvellous. No one can read the strong words used by both parties two years ago and compare them with the attitude taken by the representatives at the Conference without being struck with the wonderful change that has taken place. Though only a general report was issued after the Conference, certain features of the Italy-Jugo-Slav agreement are well known. The most important points may be briefly stated. (1) The division of the Istrian Peninsula so as to leave its western coast, including Trieste and Pola, to Italy, but its eastern part and all territory east of a line running from the mouth of the Arsa river, the historic boundary of Italy, northward to the Drave, to the Jugo Slavs; (2) The establishment by international guarantee of a series of free towns and ports along the Adriatic coast, to include specially Fiume and Ragusa, the natural and indispensable ports for Croatian and Serbian trade. Cattaro to be a free city. All reasonable Italians admit that it would be undesirable for Italy to attempt to control Fiume and Ragusa though the population is Italian, but there is need for some security against their passing into enemy hands and being made bases for submarines, or being used as arsenals. The question of the rocky strip of Dalmatian coast, with its three towns

perched on the cliffs and to which all Italians feel a strong sentimental attachment, Zara, Sebenico, and Spalato, may raise difficulties, but the spirit shown in the Conference will render these problems much easier of settlement. Each side can well afford to go a long way to meet the sentimental claims of the other if thereby it can secure its own positive needs. As Lord Robert Cecil said, "there is no inconsistency whatever between the aspirations of Italy, and those of Jugo-Slavia." The representatives have pledged themselves to work for the completion of the Italo-Slav reconciliation, both during the War, and when peace is contemplated. The unity and independence of the two nations is imperative in the political interests of both. The liberation of the Adriatic, together with its defence, is declared to be a vital interest of both peoples, who pledge themselves to settle any eventual territorial controversies on the basis of the principle of nationality and of the right of peoples to decide their own destinies, and in such a manner as not to injure the vital interests of either nation. Any racial group which has to be included within the frontiers of the other race shall be guaranteed rights of language, culture, and economic interests.

It is difficult to estimate the value of this agreement to the Allies. As the months have passed by, the full significance of the Allies' principles have been realised by the statesmen of all the Allied countries, and they have found themselves placed in false positions by agreements concluded in an earlier stage of the War, under circumstances which were almost a justification for their action. Better counsels have prevailed, and the Allies are showing a greater readiness to apply in detail the principles laid down. No nation will realise more keenly the force of the resolutions passed at the Rome Conference than the Austrian, for it marks a tragic date in the life of that Empire. The Allies do not strive for dismemberment of Austria, as such, but they do stand for the liberation of the populations subject to her rule. These people ought to enjoy to the full the enjoyment of liberty and independence, and the agreement reached by the Italians and the Slavs have laid the foundation for the freedom of the other nations now subject to Austria. This fact cannot better be described than in the words of an Italian writer: "It harmonises with Nature, and the moral conscience of the Italian nation which owed its own reconstruction to the principle of nationality."

THE MYSORE ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

It is a great compliment to the vigorous personality and enterprise of the present Dewan of Mysore that the Economic Conference which was founded eight years ago has proved such a success that at its last session, with the exception of a solitary dissident, the Conference resolved to request His Highness to make it a permanent institution. H. H. the Maharaja, as one would expect of an enlightened ruler like him, has readily complied with the request of his subjects, and all those who are interested in the welfare and advancement of this premier native State will welcome the decision. When the Conference was started it was subjected, like every new organization, to cynical—nay even hostile—criticism. But even the hardest critic of the Mysore administration must admit that the Economic Conference has given not a little stimulus to the educational, and the material advancement of the State. Education has made tremendous strides. Many a nascent industry of the State has been encouraged, and facilities offered to new industrial enterprises. Despite the War there has been considerable expansion of the import and export trade of Mysore. The promoters of the Conference realise that their activities have just begun, and that they have a great deal to do in the future. We are glad the State has been generously placing at the disposal of the Conference the services of its most talented officers and the large funds necessary to carry on the enterprises projected. It is pleasing to note in the Report of the last session held in June "that the Conference recommends that, as there is sufficient scope for the establishment of the following large industries in the State which are likely to prove profitable, they may be started either as private concerns if sufficient capital is forthcoming or as concerns financed by Government :—

(a) Pencil factory at Bankipur with an annual out-turn of 75,000 gross of cheap grade pencils and with a capital of Rs. 1,10,000.

(b) A cotton mill at Devangere.

(c) Manufacture of stoneware pipes out of the abundant raw material available in the vicinity of Bangalore in view of the fact that the drainage scheme for the city of Bangalore has to be taken in hand shortly and Rs. 10 lakhs worth of stoneware pipes will be required.

(d) One large sugar manufactory on up-to-date lines.

(e) A small rolling mill for the manufacture of ordinary commercial bars from scrap iron as is done in Pondicherry."

Another resolution passed at the Conference concerning the industrial activities of the State was as follows :—

This Conference is of opinion that the following mineral and chemical industries for which raw materials are available in the State should be started at an early date :—

(a) Manufacture of soda bicarbonate from alkaline earth.

(b) Manufacture of bleaching powder and other commercial products from common salt.

(c) Manufacture of sulphuric acid.

(d) Manufacture of paints from ochres.

(e) Manufacture of powdered asbestos for lining boiler surfaces.

(f) Manufacture of emery paper from corundum.

And also considers it necessary that investigations of all and such other raw materials available in the State as are of economic and industrial importance should be undertaken.

This is as it should be. One of the chief merits of this organisation is that officials and non-officials are brought together not only in the various committees held from time to time during the year but in the open discussions of the Conference where all sides of a question are brought forward and then decided. The official is made to feel that he is after all the servant of the public and is answerable to them, while at the same time the non-official is made to realise that his criticism should be constructive, responsible and practical. Within the short space of a note of this description it is hardly possible to do justice to the many-sided activities of this unique institution. Suffice it to say that the Editor of this *Review* had the privilege of attending the last session of this Conference during all its sittings and was very much impressed by the general enthusiasm that prevailed, the freedom with which questions were discussed and the knowledge of facts displayed by many members in many an interesting debate. We would ask the British bureaucrat who is eternally sceptical about the capacity of Indians to successfully carry on the work of administration to look for a while at the Province of Mysore where the Ruler, the Dewan, the Councillors, the heads of departments, and the Commissioners of Districts are all Indians and the State is as progressive as any under modern administration.

THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD SCHEME

SOME CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISMS

[In fairness to the many eminent gentlemen whose criticisms on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme have been presented in these pages, the Editor desires to state that they have been considerably abridged from interviews and contributions to the press. The constructive criticisms herein collected are mainly of those who have acknowledged that the authors of the Scheme have been actuated by a genuine desire to promote the interests of India, and that the Scheme they have presented tentatively for discussion is a definite step in advance but that it requires important modifications to make it acceptable to the country at large.]

Hon. Babu Surendranath Banerjea

The weakest part of the scheme is that relating to the Government of India. The machinery is left practically untouched. The number of elected members has been increased; but no real power is given to the Council. The Government of India remains as autocratic as before. There is no hope, no promise of even a beginning being made in respect of responsible government within a decade. All this is unsatisfactory. The scheme must be materially modified in this respect—*From a speech at Calcutta.*

Babu Amvica Charan Mazumdar

I am of opinion that if the Reform proposals as formulated in the published report, however imperfect they may be, are honestly carried out, they are sure to prove a real step in advance towards the progressive realization of responsible government in India. But it seems to me that the restrictions and limitations imposed apparently as safeguards through excessive caution, particularly as regards the appointment, function and tenure of office of the Minister and the unlimited power of veto of the Governor, must be either removed or relaxed as otherwise these so-called safeguards are likely to reduce the reality of the Reforms to a disappointing minimum.—*The Bengalee.*

The Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha*

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

When we examine the proposals of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in regard to the Government of India, we are unable to speak of the result of their labours in terms of approbation which we have deemed it but right to accord to their scheme for the provinces. We acknowledge that the changes that they have pro-

posed in the structure of the Government of India, both in its executive and legislative aspects, are, in some respects, an improvement on present conditions and in no respect 'retrograde' or 'reactionary.'

NEED FOR AN EFFICIENT FINANCE COMMITTEE

The matter to which we attach the greatest importance is the right to control the Budget. This we get, at the very start, in the provinces, as we have already shown, in respect of *all* allotments on 'transferred' as well as 'reserved' subjects except a certificated allotment, or part of allotment, if any. In the Legislative Assembly of India, however, there is no improvement of any kind proposed in this respect, except, of course, such improvement as may indirectly follow from the fact of an elected majority making its recommendations by way of resolutions on the Budget. We think, however, that an advance may be usefully made in this respect by providing for the selection of a dozen qualified and competent non-official members from both the 'elected' as well as the nominated portions of the legislature for the purpose of conferring, as an *advisory* Board for the present, with the Finance Member *before* he finally prepares his Budget for submission to the legislature. It should be open to the Government to withhold information to disclose which may be deemed inconsistent with the public interest. Subject to this necessary restriction the non-official voice *must* be heard in the *preparation of the Budget*. Such a step is absolutely necessary as a preparation for the eventual control of the purse of the central Government by the Legislative Assembly of India.

The authors of the proposals have done full justice in their report to the Indian view as to the fairness, expediency, and urgent necessity of conceding fiscal freedom to India. But they have been unable to make any proposals in this behalf, because they felt that they were outside the purview of matters which legitimately fell within the scope of their inquiry and recommendations on Indian constitutional reforms. They observe:—
"Our inquiry has not been concerned with fiscal

* From a joint memorandum issued by the Hon. Sir D. E. Wacha, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the Hon. Mr. C. H. Setalvad, Sir Balachandra Krishna, Mr. H. A. Wadia, Mr. W. A. Chambers, Mr. G. K. Parekh, Mr. N. V. Gokhale and Mr. N. M. Samarth.

questions, and the views expressed upon them have come before us only as the main reason which those who asked for popular control over India's finances gave in support of their request. . . It has been decided by Parliament that the fiscal relations of all parts of the Empire and the rest of the world should be considered after the war, and we assume that this consideration will be by an Imperial Conference on which India will be adequately represented." We admit that there is some force in this attempted justification for their attitude on this question. But, we ask whether a Parliamentary Bill for the reconstitution of the Government in India with a view to give effect to the *policy* of the announcement of His Majesty's Government on August 20, 1917, for 'the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an *integral* part of the British Empire' can be reasonably deemed to be satisfactorily drafted if it contains no provision whatever, of however tentative a character, for the *contingency* of India being granted fiscal freedom on *terms of equality with the Colonies*. Such a provision, we think, is absolutely necessary to make the draft reasonably complete so as to obviate the necessity of coming before Parliament again, immediately after the war, for an amendment of the Statute.

A WRONG FORMULA

While we admit that the executive and legislative structure of the Government of India has been proposed to be improved in some respects so as to constitute an advance on present conditions, we are constrained to say that the proposals in this behalf are excessively cautious and unnecessarily illiberal. They are based on a formula, the correctness and soundness of which we venture to question. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy have laid down that formula in these terms :—

"The Government of India must remain wholly responsible to Parliament and saving such responsibility, its authority in essential matters must remain indisputable, pending experience of the effect of the changes now to be introduced in the Provinces. In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of influencing Government increased."

We beg to question not only the soundness of the principle and policy embodied in this proposition, but also its compatibility with the terms of the announcement of August 20, 1917. How can it be said that the position enunciated

in the formula is in consonance with the terms of that announcement when *no attempt whatever* is made in the reconstruction of the Government of India itself towards 'the *progressive* realisation of responsible Government' to however small an extent? We fail to see why 'the Government of India *must* remain *wholly* responsible to Parliament' and why even the *beginnings* of responsible government in the Government of India should be *withheld* until, perhaps, a majority of the Provinces, advanced as well as backward, have made effective progress in responsible government. Till this contingency happens, the Government of India is apparently to remain without even the seed of responsible government introduced into its system. This, we think, is wrong in principle and is bound to lead to rigidity and unprogressiveness at the centre of the body politic, which would react on the freedom, elasticity and growth of "provincial administrations. Besides, it is a bad policy to make the Legislative Assembly of India so uninviting as contrasted with the provincial Legislative Councils that the best talent of the country would be naturally attracted to the latter on account of the new and fascinating opportunities of service and distinction that would be thrown open to it under the proposed arrangements. It is on account of this wrong formula on which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have taken their stand, that their proposals in regard to the Government of India have suffered in correctness of conception and in liberality. A legislature with a two-thirds elected element therein but in all important matters retaining the characteristics of the Morley-Minto model, that is to say, mere 'criticism unchecked by responsibility' has its perils, and should not be allowed to continue long in this position of irresponsibility. Otherwise there would be a break-down of the machinery long before it is re-adjusted to new requirements at the end of the interval deemed essential by the authors of the formula. We think that sound policy as well as the necessity of the complying with the terms of the announcement of August last dictate an immediate modification of the position embodied in that formula.

We fail to see why the beginnings of responsible government could not be made or should not be made in the Government of India itself, at least to a limited extent, *simultaneously* with the provinces. If our suggestion is given effect to income-tax, revenue from 'general' stamp duty, railways, post and telegraph (in so far as their

general administration other than for military purposes is concerned) and, above all, salt and customs, are some of the items which may be gradually 'transferred' into the control of Indian ministers. To our mind, the principal defect of the scheme of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford is its failure to give any control, however small, over the Government of India to the people's representatives in the beginning or to provide for such control in the future with the same directness and firmness with which the growth of popular control is provided for in the Provincial Governments. We think the British Cabinet and Parliament must be requested to introduce into the Bill some measure of transfer of power to the Legislative Assembly of India and to provide for future progress towards complete responsible government of the Government of India itself by specifically authorizing the proposed periodic Parliamentary Commission to inquire into the matter and recommend to Parliament such further advance as may be necessary or desirable in that behalf.

COUNCIL OF STATE

We think the legislative structure which the Secretary of State and the Viceroy have proposed for the reconstruction of the machinery of the Government of India has been unwisely complicated by the annex of a second Chamber the introduction of which into the Constitution of India is highly undesirable. It is, on the whole, a discredited device ill calculated to serve a useful purpose in the constitutional development of India on smooth and harmonious lines. It would, we think, lead to heat, irritation and bad blood, imperilling the Constitution itself,—the more so, when it is so constituted and empowered as to be a mere Government machine contrived to supersede or set aside as non-existent in certain matters, a legislature containing an elected majority. A Second Chamber, wherever introduced, has been far from successful. Even in the advanced countries of France and the United States, it was deemed an exotic. The institution is peculiarly British and congenial to British soil, but even there it has evoked hostile criticism and a demand from some for its abolition, and from others for its reformation. Lord Bryce's Committee's proposals are the result, though even in respect of them there are divergent views. One of the chief recommendations of Lord Bryce's Committee in connection with the 'legislative functions of the Second Chamber' is that 'it shall not have power to amend or reject a financial Bill.' In the re-

form proposals, however, the Council of State is given power, including power to amend in respect of all Government Bills; and 'fiscal legislation,' say the authors of the scheme, will of course be subject to the procedure we have recommended in respect of Government Bills. There are other points upon which, if the composition and functions of the 'Council of State' were tested in the light of weighty opinion of political thinkers and writers or even in the light of the conclusions arrived at by Lord Bryce's Committee, the novel structure proposed to be set up in India would scarcely bear examination. The authors of the reform proposals contemplate the perpetuation of the Council of State as a permanent institution in this country in the modified form eventually of mere revising chamber, instead of its being both a revising and a superseding body, as at present proposed, over the head of the Legislative Assembly of India. We are firmly convinced that this perpetuation would be a grievous blunder: and we would, therefore, earnestly urge that this objectionable feature of the proposals be forthwith dropped. We would suggest instead an adaptation of the plan of Grand Committees proposed by the authors of the Reform Scheme for the Provinces. The reasons given for the rejection of this contrivance in the case of the Government of India are to our mind unconvincing. The merit of this device is that while it can be utilised, by providing appropriate composition and powers, as a check on hasty legislation or arbitrary exercise of authority on the part of Government, it can also effectively prevent a predominantly elected but temporarily distempered legislature from making its *sic volo* prevail, but in either case the purpose is effected not by means of a rival or extraneous body but by a part of the body itself so as to preserve its uni-cameral character and prevent its unhealthy development as a body perpetually at war with another.

Hon. Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford have put an unduly strict interpretation on the terms of the announcement of August 20th. It is due to them at the same time to say that consistently with that interpretation they have proposed to introduce an element of real responsibility to the people in the provincial governments which they have recommended. They have proposed that the transferred subjects shall be in the charge

of a minister or ministers to be nominated by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council; that such ministers shall be appointed for the term of the Legislative Councils; that the ministers, together with the Governor, should form the administration with regard to these subjects; that on such subjects the decision of the ministers should be final, subject only to the Governor's advice and control. They have said that they expect the Governor to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequence of acquiescence would clearly be serious, or when they are clearly such as to be the result of inexperience. They do not intend that the Governor should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. This is the best part of the proposals of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for which I offer thanks to them. It would give the ministers greater individual power and responsibility with regard to transferred subjects than they would have under the Congress-League scheme. But it is weighed by various conditions and it requires to be improved.

SELECTION OF MINISTERS

In the first place it should be provided that the elected member or members to be nominated by the Governor shall be selected from among the first few men who command the largest measure of confidence of their fellow elected members in the Legislative Council. Appointment by election having been negatived, the best course to follow will probably be that the appointment should be made from among a panel of three or four recommended by the elected members. Though it will limit the field, still it would leave the selection to the Governor. But it will at the same time ensure that the Governor shall not select a man, who though he is an elected member, is not acceptable to the majority of the Council.

MINISTERS SHOULD BE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The second point is that the ministers should be members of the Executive Council and not merely of the Executive Government. The distinction between the Executive Government and the Executive Council should be abolished. Dividing the Government into, what the authors themselves point out will in effect be, two committees with different responsibilities, will weaken the power and responsibility of the administration for promoting the welfare of the Province. In fact the division of subjects into 'transferred' and 'reserved' requires to be considered.

DECISION OF TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS

Under the arrangements proposed, it would rest with the Governor to decide whether to call a meeting of his whole Government or of either part of it. The actual decision on a transferred subject would be taken by the Governor and his ministers; the action to be taken on a reserved subject would be taken by the Governor and the other members of his Executive Council. At a meeting of the whole Government, when it would be called, there would never be any question of voting, for the decision would be left to that part of the Government which will be responsible for the particular subject involved. Under this arrangement the Executive Council will be practically relieved of all responsibility relating to transferred subjects. The entire blame for the want of adequate progress in the matter of the transferred subjects will be thrown upon the minister or ministers.

FINANCIAL ARRANGEMENTS

Nor will the financial arrangements proposed under this system be satisfactory from the point of view of the transferred services. In the first place, it is laid down as a postulate, that so long as the Governor in Council is responsible for reserved subjects he must have power to decide what revenues he requires. It is proposed that the provincial budget should be framed by the Executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The remainder of the revenue will be at the disposal of the ministers for the purposes of the transferred subjects. If such residue is not sufficient for their needs, it will be open to the ministers to suggest extra taxation, either within the schedule of permissible provincial taxation, or, by obtaining the sanction of the Government of India, to some tax not included in the schedule. It is said that the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers. But it is clear that the responsibility for proposing the taxation will really lie upon the latter. The Executive Government as a whole will not be responsible for the proposal. The distinguished authors recognise that new taxation will be necessary, for no conceivable economics, say they, can finance the new developments which are to be anticipated. Why then should the responsibility for new taxation, to which a certain odium attaches in the best of circumstances, be thrown upon the shoulders of

the ministers alone and not upon the Government of the province as a whole? The proposed arrangement is not quite fair. The responsibility for developing transferred subjects is to be placed upon the ministers. The power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility is to be retained in the hands of the Governor in Council. Power is given to the ministers to propose additional taxation but he is not to be supported in the exercise of that power by the collective responsibility of the Executive Government. Proposals for new taxation are seldom popular. When such proposals will be put forward without the support of the Government as a whole, the chances of their being accepted by the legislature will be seriously affected. It is proposed that the Legislative Council should have no option but to submit to the proposals of the Governor in Council with regard to expenditure on reserved subjects. This is not calculated to promote a willingness in it to agree to new proposals for taxation even for transferred subjects. It is evident that the prospects of such subjects being properly financed are far from satisfactory. Nor are the prospects of the success of this part of the proposals as a whole more assuring. The position of the ministers will be unenviable. They must either bear the blame of failure to promote progress in their departments or they must expose themselves to the odium of proposing new taxation without having the power to deal with the revenue and expenditure of the Province as a whole.

POWERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCILS

The provision that if the Legislative Council should refuse to accept the budget proposals for reserved subjects, the Governor-in-Council should have power to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment should be dropped. The Legislative Council should be trusted to rightly understand and discharge its obligations in a matter of such vital concern to the people as the maintenance of law and order. If there is an apprehension that existing expenditure on departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order may be reduced, let this be guarded against by a special provision that this shall not be done, unless it is assented to by the Governor.

GRAND COMMITTEES

On the Legislative side the proposal for a Grand Committee should be dropped. It involves a serious and unwarrantable derogation from the

power and dignity of the Provincial Legislative Councils. All provincial legislation is at present passed by the Provincial Legislative Councils. This should continue to be so in the future. The Indian Statute book contains over-abundant legislation for the maintenance of law and order in the country. As a rule such legislation is all-India legislation and has with few exceptions been enacted in the past by the Imperial Legislative Council. It may be safely assumed that it will continue to be so in the future. . . .

It is evident that it is contemplated that the Grand Committee should be called into existence only occasionally. If then any occasion should arise when a Provincial Legislative Council refuses to pass any legislation which the Executive Government considers to be necessary, it will be better to ask the Central Government with the over-riding power of legislation which it is proposed to retain for it, to enact it for the province.

EXECUTIVE COUNCILS

So far then as the Provincial Governments are concerned, I would recommend that there should be an Executive Council of four members two of whom should be Indians, nominated by the Governor out of a panel elected by the elected members of the Legislative Councils, holding charge of, and being specially responsible for, subjects of the most vital concern to the people, and that there should be no reserved subjects and no Grand Committee. I would agree that the resolutions of the Councils other than those relating to the Budget should be treated as recommendations and Resolutions relating to the budget should be binding on the executive and the budget should be modified to accord with them, subject to this limitation that the Legislative Council should not have the power to reduce existing expenditure on departments relating to law and order without the consent of the Governor-in-Council. No new expenditure should be incurred even in those departments unless it is approved by the Legislative Council.

CONCLUSION

A definite assurance should be given whether it is intended that full responsible government should be established in India within a period not exceeding 20 years.—(*From a lengthy Communication to the Press.*)

Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar

It displays a breadth of view, a far-sightedness of vision, a liveliness of imagination comparable to that displayed by that oft quoted speech of Macaulay, which most Indian politicians love to read and re-read. It is the boldest attempt made till now to carry into effect the high principles of justice and equality embodied in the Statute Book by the Government of India Act of 1833, and the noble assurances and pledges given by Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858.

In regard to the Government of India, therefore, the Scheme though making a slight advance on the present state of things is wanting in the essential feature: the introduction of the principle of responsibility. For the removal of this drawback vigorous efforts should be made; and even if a satisfactory amendment is not obtained, we should not be, for reasons to be presently explained, downcast or reject the Scheme. . . .

I have always held that if Parliamentary institutions are to be established and a beginning towards that is to be made, then we must proceed on lines on which the great democratic countries have proceeded. A second chamber to my mind is an absolute necessity: and press as we ought to for the immediate transfer to popular control of some departments of the Government of India, the establishment of such a chamber should be agreed to. The composition of this body and its powers and functions are difficult matters and wide divergence of views is to be expected. In my opinion the body should be half-elective and half-nominated, official and non-official, the aim to be to secure representation of the best knowledge, experience and practical wisdom of the country and of the large interests existing therein. Its powers should be not more than those of the other second chambers in the British Empire or the United States. The power of certification should be exercisable only on the grounds of peace and order, and reasons for the same should be published. The army and military affairs generally, foreign and political relations, the provision for the defence for the country and internal peace and order being all reserved in the fullest manner for the Government of India, and their power being left plenary in these respects, the further ground of "Good Government" for the issue of the certificate should be taken out.

The Budget should, subject to the above limitations, be voted upon in the two chambers and in a Joint Session if they disagree.

Mrs. Annie Besant

Though Mrs. Besant criticised the Scheme at first very strongly in her paper, 'New India,' still it must be stated she has latterly equally strongly and strenuously been protesting against the idea of rejecting it as the same would be perilous. She is mainly responsible for a manifesto based on the following suggestions to which she has obtained the approval of Messrs. Moti Lal Ghose, B. Chakravarty, C. R. Das, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, the Hon. Mr. Patel, B. G. Tilak, Hon. Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hon. G. S. Khaparde, Hon. Pandit Gokaranath Misra, Sir S. Subramania Aiyer, Mr. S. Kasturiranga Aiyangar and others.

From my own standpoint the following are the essentials of the Congress-League Scheme which must be included in the Bill.

1. Enlarged Legislative Councils, on broad franchise, with 4/5 (or substantial) majority of elected members. Muhammadan proportion as detailed in Joint Scheme.

2. Control over budget, entailing subordination of Executive to Legislature, and giving fiscal autonomy.

3. Executive Council, half-English and half-Indian.

RESERVED SUBJECTS

Our Scheme reserved to the Indian Government sole control over Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Political Relations, the making of War and Peace, and the entering into Treaties, thus admitting the principle of reserved subjects; but the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme has extended it most unreasonably.

MAHOMEDAN REPRESENTATION

The first demand is given in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, except as regards the proportion of Muhammadans to be elected, and the granting of special electorates in all Provinces. On these points we must stand by our Muhammadan brethren as agreed.

FISCAL AUTONOMY

The second gives fiscal autonomy, a *sine qua non*. Without this, the Executive is supreme, with it the Legislature. As a concession, we might agree that in the Provinces a fixed sum, calculated on the average expenditure of five years before the War on police, law, and justice, should be at the disposal of the Executive and outside the control of the Legislature for the life time of the first Legislative Council, and that these should be reserved to the Executive. It is also arranged in both Schemes, that a fixed amount from provincial revenues shall be allocated to the Government of India, and that the Local and Indian Legislative Councils and Assembly shall control respectively Provincial and Indian reve-

ness and expenditure, there being no divided heads of revenue.

APPOINTMENT OF MINISTERS

Thus, in the Provinces, all the Departments except Law, Police and Justice should be placed in the hands of Ministers, who should be chosen by the Governor in Council from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and they should be irremovable, as in the Congress-League Scheme, for the life-time of the Council. The Legislature would control the whole Budget, except the two fixed allocations, and under these circumstances the Grand Committee would have nothing to do and would disappear. The Governor might advise with his Ministers, but not control them.

PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

The third is granted in the Provincial Councils, but the demand that the Indian half should be elected is refused. I think we might let that go, if all subjects except Law, Police and Justice are in the hands of elected members of the Council, in whom control of the budget is vested, and if these also come into the hands of the Legislature automatically, at the end of five years, making Provincial Autonomy complete.

HALF THE EXECUTIVE SHOULD BE INDIAN

In the Indian Government, half the Executive should be Indian, and if the work be heavy, one or more Ministers might be added from the elected members of the Assembly. Here also a fixed sum, calculated as before, should be allocated for the subjects reserved in the Congress-League Scheme; in addition we may grant to the Executive Council, half-Indian, the care of peace, tranquillity and the safety of the country, seeing that the Army is concerned with these. I say "safety of the country" instead of "good government," because the latter phrase, like the "public interests," may be stretched to include anything.

INDIAN BUDGET

The Indian Budget must be under the control of the Assembly, save as regards the fixed sum granted, and customs, tariff and excise must be specially retained in its hands, lest any attempt should be made to bring these within peace, tranquillity and safety, in view of the resistance of the non-official European community to the necessary re-arranging of Indian finance with a view to Indian interests.

One point of great importance must be remembered, that no power must be transferred from Parliament and the Secretary of State for

India to the Indian Government, nor to the Provincial Governments, until the latter are responsible to the electorates.—(*From an Address delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee, Madras Special Conference.*)

COUNCIL OF STATE

Personally, I am for abolishing the Council of State. In no part of the British Empire and nowhere else practically do you find a uni-cameral Government or Legislature. There lies our difficulty which we ought to admit. We should ask for the abolition of the Council of State but if we fail in that we ought to get rid of the certification process. The Governor is able to certify a bill if he thinks that it comes within the expression "peace, order and good government." I should avoid that expression and substitute for it "the safety of the Nation." Suppose you could not get the abolition of the Council of State but could get rid of certification, then there will be a joint session of the two Houses, in which there is a large elected majority. In the joint session, if the Government cannot certify you can get a Bill through. It is on the certificate of the Governor that the real crux of the question comes.—(*Debate at the Madras Mahajana Sabha, July 31.*)

The Hon. Mr. Mazar-ul-Haque

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

Taking the reforms in the Provincial Government as a whole, it appears that ground has been prepared for planting the seed of Responsible Government, but the seed has not been planted yet. Attempts have been made to take a forward step, but the step has been immediately drawn back for the fear that catastrophic change may take place even in those matters where their occurrence is impossible. Statesmanship demanded that bold steps should be taken and real Responsible Government should be granted fearlessly in the transferred subjects. To think that any scheme can be evolved where mistakes will not be committed, is to wish for a state of things which are not to be found in this world. The history of the British House of Commons and of the British Rule in India is a history of mistakes. The occasion requires that a full measure of confidence should be placed in the Indians and suspicion and distrust of every description should be avoided. The scheme presumes an amount of unreasonableness in the Indians which is not justified by past experience. Men who have been so far placed in

positions of trust such as Sir Satyendra Prasanna Sinha, Sir Ali Imam and Sir Sankaran Nair have not betrayed their trust. Why should they do so if they are placed in the position of Ministers or even that of Governors. It may be argued that it is not a question of individuals but that of electorates. Perfectly true, but why create an electorate if you do not trust them. The very creation of electorates implies a certain amount of confidence; and if this is not conceded, foundation is laid for further troubles. I am decidedly of opinion that unless modified in its main features, the scheme will not satisfy the people at large. I would suggest that whatever subjects are decided to be included in the transferred list, the responsibility of the Legislative Council should be completed and the Minister or Ministers should be made responsible to the Legislative Council. Only those men who enjoy the confidence of the largest number of members of the Legislative Council should be called by the Governor to fill the position of Minister or Ministers, and the moment they lose the confidence of the House they should resign and give place to those who have such confidence. Thus and thus only the requisite training for Responsible Government will be acquired.—(*From the Presidential address to the Behar Provincial Conference.*)

The Hon. Mr. M. A. Jinnah

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

With regard to the Government of India I cannot accept the principle that for the purpose of progressive realisation of responsible government we must confine ourselves to the province as a unit. For this I see no warrant in the announcement of the 20th August, 1917. The procedure laid down in the scheme reduces the Assembly as a whole and the representatives of the people and the Council of State to the position of irresponsible critics, as complained in regard to the Morley-Minto reforms. It is clear that in the most vital matter the demand of the Congress-League scheme is not met, particularly in regard to control over the executive by representatives, fiscal policy and the Budget. I would, therefore, strongly urge that the certificate of the Governor-General-in-Council should not apply except to measures and Bills which affect the peace, tranquillity and safety of the country. All other departments of the Government of India should be left to the legislature, and the decision on all Bills should be final. This is contemplated

in the report, but a decade is a long period to wait for such advance.—(*From a communication to the Press.*)

Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri

Let us not reject the scheme with contumacy. It does not deserve such treatment. What does it matter that it departs altogether from ours? It substantially embodies our basic principles at the start and will effectuate them in full at the culmination. To recognize that the authors of the scheme have been actuated by a genuine desire to promote the interests of India and help the cause of her freedom, to admit that the lines of constitutional advance laid down in it are generally sound, and that the actual proposals are calculated to give us a substantial start and set us on the high road to partnership in the British Empire at no distant day, and then to point out deficiencies that vitiate the scheme and may deprive it of all value, and make a firm and strong demand for improvements that seem indispensable—this is the part of those who would use the great opportunity that Providence has given them to serve the cause of India—*Servant of India.*

AUTONOMY FOR PROVINCES

At any rate the majority in the case of the Indian Legislative Assembly must be more than two-thirds, while in the case of the provincial Legislatures real autonomy would be impracticable without an absolutely decisive majority. The provincial Legislatures must have power to raise any debate on definite matters of urgent public interest, and the Governor must be under an obligation to summon the council at stated intervals. He should not preside over the legislature nor nominate the president. The ministers must be allowed the same status as members of the executive council.

RESERVED AND TRANSFERRED SUBJECTS

The committee for dividing the reserved from the transferred services must have a special direction to make the former as few and the latter as many as possible, as otherwise the beginnings of responsible Government would tend to become shadowy and unsubstantial.

MEMBERS WITHOUT PORTFOLIO

The proposed addition to the executive Government of members without portfolio is, in our opinion, a sheer encumbrance without any countervailing advantages.

THE SERVICES

The report exhibits lamentable weakness towards the services. The opinion of responsible non-official Indians is frankly opposed to any increase in their salaries and pensions, and they will not be deterred by the extravagant emoluments from resisting demands in this behalf on the public purse.

SPECIAL INTERESTS

The chapter recommending special powers to the Government of India for protecting the interests of Europeans, Christian missionaries and the domiciled community is not happily conceived. It shows an unfounded suspicion of the attitude of Indians towards these classes. One would have thought that the classes least able to protect themselves were the submerged or the depressed classes. To prevent injustice or tyranny the Government of India and provincial Governments have enough power. The oppression of minorities is unquestionably the fittest occasion for the exercise of the veto. The facts of the day require rather a frank recognition that certain classes are in the enjoyment of undue privileges. The abolition of these and the establishment of absolute equality between individual and individual irrespective of race, birth or religion are essential conditions for the success of the reforms.

The pride and self-respect of Indians, made almost morbid by the humiliation of generations, are cruelly mortified by the disabilities of one kind or another, under which they labour in their own country. When shall there be real equality between man and man, is the cry of anguish that goes up from many a wounded heart. The one appeal that we would make to all who wield authority over India is to put an end to all privilege, whether it be due to birth or race or religion.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

We cannot consent to leave the Government of India absolutely untouched. How could it be claimed in the Peace Conference or elsewhere that the principle of self-determination was applied to the case of India while a mere seed thereof was sown in the provincial fields? Is it contended that we cannot manage the manufacture of salt, the income-tax and railways? If the Assembly is left free to legislate for these and similar departments as the Council of State is free to legislate for some others, will the Government of India be paralysed and its power for good destroyed? In fact the Government of India is treated in the report with distant and reverential

awe and its nervousness is so great that it fails to include in express terms the possibility of making the Government of India amenable to popular control in its enumeration of the twelve years' commissions. The report indulges in much special pleading when it advocates the continuance of unimpaired power in the Government of India. Not only does it fail to provide for any immediate devolution of this power to the representatives of the people, but we are surprised to find that it contains no clear proposals for such devolution in future. One great merit of the scheme before us is claimed to be the guarantee that it affords of the successive stages in the development of the new polity. The claim is utterly without foundation in the most vital and important part. If this serious defect in the proposals be not rectified, the spokesmen of England cannot truthfully assert at any International conference that she has granted responsible Government to India or inaugurated the arrangements which will, by regular and appointed stages, enable India to reach responsible Government without doubt. Why should the process of popularising the Government of India not begin at all till the fabric of responsible Government is completed to the topmost story in all the provinces? If the people can be trusted with the bulk of provincial affairs, why should they not be trusted with some national affairs? The arguments of safety and fitness cannot be brought forward in the latter case if they have no validity in the former.

The life and soul of the famous August declaration of last year is the idea of responsible government, of which the introduction into provincial Governments is provided for from the sixth year of the inauguration of the new scheme. On what grounds then is this vivifying principle withheld from the chief domain, viz., the Government of India? If necessary anywhere, it would seem to be necessary there. It does not seem to be contemplated, nor is it consistent with the reasoning adopted in the report, that at a certain moment declared to be ripe, the Government of India, in all its departments and over its entire range, should be brought under popular control. The doctrine of "successive stages" and "progressive realisation" applies here as elsewhere. The men who can be entrusted with the management of local self-government, education, sanitation, agriculture and industries in separate provinces can certainly be entrusted with the control of the operations of the salt and the income-tax departments. The mere extent of jurisdiction cannot form an insuperable objection,

For it is not to be imagined that the people of India will rest content with the promise of power held out on the provincial plane. The destinies of India are worked out on the highest plane, *viz.*, that of the Government of India. To bar the leaders of India from access thereto is to fail utterly to realise the dominating factor of the situation, namely, that they claim a hand in the shaping of their country's destinies.

Besides, when once bureaucracy is taught to regard a certain sphere as its citadel, it will resent with bitterness all future attempts to dislodge it therefrom: and the Imperial Cabinet must remember, in deciding on the work of reconstruction in India, that if the people require to be trained in the art of government the bureaucracy requires no less to be trained in the virtue of renunciation. The latter education is as difficult and liable to miscarriage as the former, and the sooner it is begun the better. Moreover, the progress of responsible government in the provinces, already clogged by dyarchic arrangements, will be further impeded by the necessarily unpropitious outlook of an unreformed Government of India, to which the proposed scheme assigns not only overriding and concurrent power of legislation and general power of control and interference, but also the power of ordering or sanctioning successive transfers of services from the reserved to the popularly controlled group, and of arbitrament in cases where the correctness of a Governor's certificate is disputed.

We do not profess to have a cut and dried proposal in this behalf, but we are clear that the third formula should go. It rests on unsound reasoning, and must fall before a combined assault on the part of the Indian leaders. The committee who are to demarcate the reserved from the transferred services in the provinces should have instructions to indicate similar lines of demarcation in the Government of India, and the twelve-year commissions should likewise have authority to recommend the "successive stages" for the "progressive realisation of responsible government" in the national as well as in the provincial sphere.

Hon. Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru

GRAND COMMITTEES

I do not feel enamoured of the Grand Committee. It seems to me to be cumbersome and is likely to lead to considerable delay in the passage of Bills. It is probably intended to be a

check upon the legislative council with regard to certain reserved subjects. It seems to have been forced upon those who are responsible for this scheme by their own division of the Government into Transferred and Reserved departments. Why should not an attempt be made to simplify the whole procedure? Assuming that the Government desire the bifurcation of the department as suggested in the Report, and assuming further that it is necessary to retain a certain power in their hands to ensure the safe passage of Bills relating to certain reserved subjects, why should this cumbersome procedure be adopted when perhaps the same object could be achieved by adopting a more direct and simpler procedure? The Governor has the power of dissolution and if he has got to deal with an intractable council he can always exercise that power. He has also the power to return a measure for the reconsideration of particular provisions in it. With all these checks it is somewhat difficult to understand the necessity for the establishment of the Grand Committee; and it is to be hoped that when action is taken on the report something would be done to remove what seems to be a superfluous check the disadvantages of which will in all probability outweigh its advantages in actual practice. And lastly, when it is borne in mind that the Government of India will have concurrent powers of legislation enabling it to intervene in any province under certain conditions, the case for the abolition of the Grand Committee would seem to be sufficiently strong.—(*The Leader*, July 15.)

COUNCIL OF STATE

The Council of State is in the nature of an antidote to the elected majority in the Legislative Assembly and as such will be the seat of the reserved power of the Government. It is this aspect of it which has laid it open to severe criticism, but unless the elective majority is to have its will enforced without any let or hindrance, the necessity for a check from the point of view from which the entire constitution has been approached by the Government, would seem to be one which could not be ignored. It is not, it will be noticed, a complete second chamber in so far as there are to be elected members and nominated members for a short period, with somewhat less powers than ordinary second chambers have in certain matters. At the same time it seems to me that if this Council of State is to remain, so far as its elected element is concerned, it may well be strengthened. I have pointed out that there will be 21 elected members of whom

15 will be returned by the non-official members of the provincial legislative councils and 6 by the Mahomedans and the landed class. Considering that the Governor-General's vote will be the deciding factor, there is no reason why the number of elected members of this council should not be equal to that of the official and nominated members. Again, it may be asked what is exactly meant by the expression 'good government.' While I am aware that this expression has found place in certain Acts of the legislature, it is an extremely illusive expression. It may mean anything and everything and is apt to be abused. One can understand the expression 'interests of peace and order,' but what is it exactly which this comprehensive phrase 'good government' is intended to cover? Surely, there must be some satisfactory answer to it. And if there is none, it is no use retaining an expression of this character. There are two more features of this Council of State to which attention may be drawn. If leave to introduce a Government Bill is refused by the legislative Assembly, or thrown out at any stage, the Governor-General-in-Council may certify that the Bill is essential to the interest of peace, order or good government, and in that case the Bill may be passed by the Council of State without further reference to the Legislative Assembly. Secondly, in cases of emergency so certified by the Governor-General-in-Council it would be open to the Government to introduce a Bill in the Council of State and upon its being passed there merely to report it to the Assembly. These are, it must be admitted, very wide powers, and may if frequently or carelessly exercised lead to a collision between the two chambers. I think that these provisions require serious consideration. Their very existence would to my mind seriously affect the independence, and it may be, the utility also, of the Legislative Assembly.—(*The Leader*, July 17.)

The Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma

EXISTING CONDITIONS AND PARALLELS.

Reading carefully through the Report, a dispassionate observer cannot fail to perceive that the only substantial argument in favour of the limited scope of the reforms is the inexperience and the varied, composite and sometime discordant character of the electorates to which the task of Government would have to be entrusted. Allusion has also been made to the possible lack in sufficient numbers of men versed in adminis-

tration. Great emphasis has been laid in quarters hostile to reform of the certainty of a narrow oligarchy being the successor of the present Bureaucracy. In one part of the Report it is stated: "We have no intention that our Reforms should result merely in the transfer of powers from a Bureaucracy to an oligarchy." What are the facts? The number of adult literates in British India is more than 12 millions, that is, nearly as large as the total adult male population of the United Kingdom. The number of pupils at school in 1916-17 was nearly 8 millions (7·8), a figure somewhat larger than what obtained in the United Kingdom or Japan, or four times as large as in self-governing China with a larger population, the figures for which for 1912 were 1·7 millions, or 17 lakhs. The qualification for an elector in Japan is roughly the payment of a land or other tax of ten yen or Rs. 15, and the number of electors on that basis for the Madras Presidency alone would be more than a million, and together with the other tax-payers of an equal amount, and literates would number not less than three millions, and for the whole of India may be easily about 20 millions. Be it remembered that the Japanese elector would have to choose his representative not merely for the administration of the internal affairs of the country, but of foreign affairs. Be it also remembered that manhood suffrage is the generally accepted principle in all democratic countries, that illiteracy does not count as a disqualification in many, that it does not obtain at present in India, provision having been made for the election of an illiterate member to the Council of the Government of India, and that Hydr and even Akbar were not exactly literate. It should not also be forgotten that the Indian has behind him the inherited culture of thousands of years, and that illiteracy does not generally connote ignorance, want of business understanding, or shrewdness. In any view, the number of qualified electors would run into many millions both in the Provinces and for the whole of India, and it is difficult to see, when smaller electorates are governing not only their own kingdoms but vast Empires, the Indian electorate should be characterised as a narrow oligarchy unfit to administer the internal affairs of their own country. May I be permitted to point out that the internal affairs of one fifth of India are being administered by indigenous agency, though not on a democratic basis, and that the internal and external affairs of the whole of India were so administered for centuries? But an impatient critic

might well ask: "But is this huge electorate drawn from all classes?" A cursory reference to any authorised publications would at once convince the most sceptical-minded reader that it would be drawn from all classes, Muhammadans, Christians, Parsis, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras and Panchamas, and that all the elements would be better represented than the corresponding classes were in the England of the pre-Reform days and even in the early Victorian era, and that the danger or possibility of the creation of an oligarchy, much less of a Brahmana or any other class-oligarchy, has no foundation in fact and is a pure myth. A reference to the censustables shows that, excluding Burma, in the 8 Provinces covered by the Report, if literacy is to be a qualification, the electorate would be more than 12 million strong, and would be drawn from all communities, castes and races, though in a proportion varying to their total numerical strength. It is noteworthy that the Brahmanas form less than one-sixth of the number. It is a well-recognised fact that among the landed proprietors, including raiyats, merchants, traders and followers of various occupations, they form a still smaller proportion. Thus, while the electorates would be numerically even stronger, their proportion would be considerably less. From the point of view of literacy, that the electorates would grow stronger year by year is patent from the fact that the total number of pupils at school is rapidly rising, and is at present 7·8 millions, that the peoples are drawn from all classes, and that the Brahmana proportion is growing smaller is clear from the fact that their number is only one-ninth of the total. From the point of the number of officers in the administration, in the case of appointments of a salary of Rs. 200 and above in the Government of India, the Brahmana proportion is only 4 per cent. and even when compared with the pure Indian indigenous element, less than a fourth, though the proportion varies from province to province and is higher in the Provincial appointments. The English educated classes would form less than a tenth of the electorate, and of these the Brahmanas would form less than a fourth. How, under these circumstances, the electorate can be said to be oligarchic, or power would pass into the hands of an oligarchy, much more a *Brahmana oligarchy*, I leave the reader to judge.—*From a communication to the Press.*

Mr. M. K. Gandhi

After all, our standard of measurement must be the Congress-League scheme, crude though it is, I think that we should with all the vehemence and skill that we can command press for the incorporation into it of the essentials of our own.

DOCTRINE OF COMPARTMENTS

I would, therefore, for instance, ask for the rejection of the doctrine of compartments. I very much fear that the dual system in the Provinces will be fatal to the success of the experiment and as it may be only the success of the experiment that can take us to the next and I hope the final stage, we cannot be too insistent that the idea of reservation should be dropped. One cannot help noticing an unfortunate suspicion of our intentions regarding the purely British as distinguished from the purely Indian interests. Hence, there is to be seen in the scheme elaborate reservations on behalf of these interests. I think that more than anything else it is necessary to have an honest, frank and straightforward understanding about these interests and for me personally this is of much greater importance than any legislative feat that British talent alone or a combination of British and Indian talent may be capable of performing. I would certainly, in as courteous terms as possible, but equally emphatic, say that these interests will be held subservient to those of India as a whole and that therefore they are certainly in jeopardy in so far as they may be inconsistent with the general advance of India. Thus, if I had my way, I would cut down the military expenditure. I would protect local industries by heavily taxing goods that compete against products of our industries and I would reduce to a minimum the British element in our services, retaining only those that may be needed for our instruction and guidance. I do not think that they had or have any claim upon our attention, save by right of conquest. That claim must clearly go by the board as soon as we have awakened to a consciousness of our national existence and possess the strength to vindicate our right to the restoration of what we have lost. To their credit let it be said that they do not themselves advance any claim by right of conquest. One can readily join in the tribute of praise bestowed upon the Indian Civil Service for their proficiency, devotion to duty and great organising ability. So far as material reward is concerned that service has been more than handsomely paid and our gratitude other-

wise can be best expressed by assimilating their virtues ourselves.

PRESENT TOP-HEAVY ADMINISTRATION

No scheme of reform can possibly benefit India that does not recognise that the present administration is top-heavy and ruinously expensive and for me even law, order and good government would be too dearly purchased if the price to be paid for it is to be the grinding poverty of the masses. The watchword of our reform councils will have to be not the increase of taxation for the growing needs of a growing country, but a decrease of financial burdens that are sapping the foundation itself of organic growth. If this fundamental fact is recognised there need be no suspicion of our motives and I think I am perfectly safe in asserting that in every other respect British interests will be as secure in Indian hands as they are in their own.

INDIANS IN CIVIL SERVICE

It follows from what I have said above that we must respectfully press for the Congress-League claim for the immediate granting to Indians of 50 per cent. of the higher posts in the Civil Service.—(*Letter to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, 18th July.*)

The Hon. Pandit Jagat Narain

I am fully convinced that if a time limit, say even of 25 years, be fixed by statute for the grant of complete responsible government in the provinces all parties in India will be prepared to accept the scheme. If this be granted—and we should strenuously press for it—I will be prepared to leave other details to be worked out by the authorities, because then they are only of minor importance. If, however, in the opinion of our rulers, twenty-five years of training and experience are not sufficient to make Indians fit for full and complete responsible government in the provinces then we cannot be blamed for supposing that the present scheme is only a make-shift, and it is not intended that the goal should be reached within a reasonable period of time. I am prepared to accept with confidence the assurance that the policy of the announcement of 20th August will be steadily carried out, and sooner than later we shall get what we want.—*From a contribution to the Press.*

Hon. Prof. Paranjpye

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The weakest part of the scheme is obviously the proposals with regard to the Government of India. True, the Legislative assembly is to have a two-thirds elected majority, but this majority can wield only influence and has no power. With it is associated a Council of State, on which the nominated and official members are to form a decided majority and which can be used to pass any legislation, budget allotment, or financial proposal which the Governor-General, acting as the mouth-piece of the Imperial Parliament, considers necessary in the interests of peace, order or good government. We hope that the periodical commissions that are to examine the working of the reforms will not consider the question of introducing responsible government in the Government of India as lying outside their domain. . . . Under the scheme the transition of the Government of India from autocracy to responsibility is bound to be sudden as no intermediate stages are arranged, as in the case of provincial Governments. In any case it will hardly be possible for any autocratic Government to resist for long any demand that is repeatedly voiced by the people even though acting in a merely advisory capacity. Even in the case of the Morley-Minto reforms, the indirect influence of the Councils on administration and legislation was considerable and weight of the proverbial sixteen votes on any question in the Imperial Council was well known. . . . We wish however it were possible to amend the scheme on this point to some extent at least.—*The Servant of India.*

• Hon. Mr. M. Ramachandra Rao

BUDGET PROVISIONS AND PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVES

The authors of the scheme frankly admit that their plan of Provincial Executives involves "some weakening of the unity of the Executive and some departure from constitutional orthodoxy"; but whenever and wherever they approach this problem of realising responsibility at different times in different functions they find it impossible to adhere tightly to theoretical principle. It would be impossible to attain this object "by a composite Government so composed that all its members should be equally responsible for all subjects. At the same time, it is necessary to secure that the whole Executive should be capable of acting together. What we can do is to aim at minimising causes of friction; and we have proposed arrangements that can be worked

by mutual forbearance and a strong common purpose." With these admirable sentiments in view, it is surprising that they of the scheme should have deliberately put forward their proposals embodied in the scheme in regard to the Provincial Budgets and balances. For there is no doubt that if any set of proposals are likely to cause more friction and contention it is these proposals relating to the budget. The contribution to the Government of India which, it may incidentally be remarked, is the heaviest from Madras is a first charge on Provincial revenues, and after this is satisfied the Governor in Executive Council can appropriate as much as he considers necessary for the current and expanding expenditure in the reserved departments. The balance will then go towards the maintenance of the transferred departments. If there is a deficit, the Ministers will have to bring in proposals for additional taxation. These proposals constitute an altogether one-sided arrangement, and no better scheme could have been devised to effectually prevent the growth of necessary expenditure in the transferred departments. "Finance is the vehicle of Government and unless the Executive can raise money for its needs and lay it out as it pleases, it cannot continue to be responsible for the administration." The Ministers who may not be responsible for a deficit are to find the money and incur the odium of popular disapprobation, while the members of the Executive Council will be entirely free to stand up for increased expenditure in their departments. The working of the Budget for two sets of departments under these unequal terms will furnish from the very outset a very acute cause of trouble which will grow with each year, and if the success of the working of the transferred departments were to be assured a more stable scheme of finance should have been devised. There is no reason why priority should be given to Governor-in-Council even for new expenditure on the reserved subjects. The present proposals come to this that the Governor-in-Council frames a Budget for the Police or Survey charges where the new expenditure for the year is 25 lakhs, it will take precedence automatically over the expenditure on the transferred departments. It can no doubt be objected to in the Council at the time of the passing of the Budget, but the Governor will have the right to restore it in the interest of peace, order, and good government. "Peace, order and good government" are like "Justice, equity and good intentions" very captivating words. But they can be interpreted

so widely as to practically guarantee any item of expenditure on reserved subjects getting through, though it may not be relatively as necessary as expenditure on the transferred departments. In the existing Councils, criticism on the expenditure in the Police, and Land Revenue Settlements, has met with very little success and even under the proposed scheme the same state of things would prevail. The Provincial budgets are not to be incorporated in the Imperial Budgets hereafter, but I take it, that at any rate, that portion of the budget belonging to the reserved departments will still be sent to the sanction of the Government of India. I do not see any statement to the contrary anywhere. On the other hand it is asserted in the Report, that there is no logical reason for relaxing the control of the superior official authority over the Provincial Governments. Obviously the Ministers may be told that the Government of India have directed the increase of pay in that or this department and the Provincial Government has no other alternative but budget for the same.

The lack of unity and the sense of divided responsibility forms a fundamental objection to a scheme of Provincial Executives in two parts. One part of it will be so unequally matched with the other, in regard to its privileges and powers, that it is more than likely to stimulate no growth of responsibility in the Ministers. The powers of intervention of the Executive Council and the Governor at every stage is a real danger in Provinces where the members of the Indian Civil Service are to be the Governors.

The better plan will be to bring the whole field of Provincial administration under a scheme of Responsible Government, as this is the only way in which we can avoid want of unity and strength to reconstruct the Government on this basis. This will also avoid all the restrictions in regard to the control of the Services and the Budget. If necessary, this may not be fully conceded; I am willing to acquiesce in the reservation of the two departments, Law and Justice and Police, as a great deal has been said about the danger to law and order. Even these departments may be managed by the Provincial Governments as Agents of the Government of India during the stage of transition. I would prefer a scheme of centralisation of the two departments to keep together the unity of the Provincial Government and to make it wholly responsible to the people. This will also avoid the distinctions which must inevitably be drawn

between the Indian members of the Executive Council and the Minister. The authors of the scheme seem to think that this does not matter so long as the bureaucratic element is increased but I think it is a matter of vital importance.—
From a communication to the Press.

• Prof. V. G. Kale

All constitutional changes proposed in the scheme will be nugatory if representatives of the people are allowed to exercise no control over national finance, tariffs, industries, railways, currency and banking. To secure popular control over these functions of the executive government has been one of the most important objects of the constitutional agitation of the people for the past many years.

We must make it clear to the British public and the Cabinet that unless a considerable measure of popular control is provided in the central Government, the scheme as a whole will not be accepted by the country and there is no reason why the leaders should shirk this duty. The apprehensions that such a suggestion will wreck the whole scheme are groundless and we ought to use the opportunity of criticism that has been given to us to the full. I am prepared to accept the partial self-government that is granted in the provinces, with certain modifications, of course, if substantial changes are made in the constitution of the Government of India. We should urge that at least in the advanced provinces, the reserved services should be very few and that the power of provincial taxation should be real and full. We should also urge that as little as possible should be left to the committees to decide and that the powers to be given to the people and the legislatures should be definitely and clearly laid down in the statute.—*The Servant of India.*

Prof. H. G. Limaye

The constitution of the Government of India is the weakest and the most unsound part of the proposals made by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State. It is practically a continuation of the *status quo* without even the shadow of a beginning towards making the executive responsible to the legislature in any way.

Even a two-thirds elected majority in the Legislative Assembly simply means the extension of the principle of representation. It cannot mean even the smallest beginning of responsible government according to the canon enunciated by the Secretary of State himself.

Whatever additional importance the Legislative

Assembly of the future may obtain by the higher proportion of the elected representatives of the people it will be neutralised by the Council of State, which reproduces important features of the present Indian Legislative Council. In fact we are inclined to consider that the Council of State is created to serve as a screen, thin though it be, to cover the continuance of the present system of government.

Even with all these drawbacks the constitution of the Government of India might have been more favourably received by the people of India, if it had fulfilled one condition, *viz.*, if the Government of India had been granted complete independence in regard to fiscal matters. We attach more importance to this point than even to the constitution of the Government of India.—*The Servant of India.*

The Rev. Ahmad Shah

Most extraordinary power has been given in the scheme to the Governor. In fact more power has been given to him than he enjoys at present. Moreover it should be remembered that the interference of the Government of India and Secretary of State over provincial governments has been much reduced in the scheme. With these powers in his hands the Governor may become an absolute autocrat and it is the negation of responsible government to leave so much power in the hands of one man without his being immediately responsible to any one. . . . But here the Governor can pass a measure even if opposed by Legislative Council and his ministers. The Governor will rule with men of his own choice, whether in the executive council, or in case of ministers under popular control or additional official members without portfolios all of whom he will nominate himself. Now, I do not say that the Governor will always use these extraordinary powers. But political rights and powers are dearer than life itself as they affect not individuals only but nations, whole communities and generations unborn; and it is never safe to leave these rights and powers for however short a period in the hands of a single individual however benevolent. Moreover the constant shifting of Governors in so many provinces may occasionally bring an unsympathetic man of autocratic temper. The people with increased political consciousness will be more sensitive in a conflict of opinion between the Government and the people.—*From a communication to the Press.*

Mr. N. C. Kelkar

(Editor, *The Mahratta*.)

What is remarkable about the Report is the equanimity of temper with which both likes and dislikes have been subdued, so much so that the passionate advocate appears the impartial judge and the vigorous critic only a warm apologist. There is not one unkind word or expression in the Report about those whom its signatories cannot be expected to love. In fact, if we leave aside the actual recommendations, the first half of the Report might have as well been written by a "hopeless" but cultured and enlightened Home Ruler. It bristles with admissions against Government which would be the delight of the Nationalists, and which must for ever more completely demolish even the little ground-work of defence on which the bureaucracy was standing so long in its desperate fight against the forces of liberalism in India.


The elements of the idea of Responsible Government, in the Montagu Scheme, has much to be said in its favour. But the idea could as well be added on to the Congress-League Scheme. We say this without prejudice to our contention that the Congress-League Scheme itself is not a negation of responsibility. The scheme, even as it is, gives ample powers to the Legislature; and a vigilant effective exercise of them can secure the needed degree of accountability in the Executive. A vote of censure can be passed by the Legislative Councils as constituted under the Congress-League Scheme, and self-respecting Ministers need not be actually dismissed or punished by a reduction in their salary. *Verbum sat sapienti*. There are a number of countries with democratic constitutions, which do not provide for the removal of executive Ministers. But to cut the matter short, we shall at once frankly say that we do not object to the introduction of Responsible Government. The Congress-League Scheme also is implied by a Responsible Government Scheme, but if Mr. Montagu wants that element to be especially introduced, well, be it so. We accept an amendment to the Congress-League Scheme in this respect, whether it be intended as a constitutional improvement, or as a veiled challenge to the Indian politicians to prove their fitness for administrative responsibility.

But we entirely fail to see why we must necessarily kill the fat calf of Legislative power to feast the newcomer responsibility. Is responsibility of the Ministry really inconsistent with the plenary powers given to the Legislature in the Congress-League Scheme? If responsibility is a salutary thing, why should not the Executive Council itself in the new scheme have a little of it as well? Not responsibility, we mean, to the State Secretary but to the electorate of whom the Montagu Scheme is so fond and enamoured? A bicameral system is, let us say again, an improvement over the Congress-League Scheme. But the essence of this new feature is not that the elected members should be in a minority in the upper chamber, but that the existence of a second chamber performs the function of delaying hasty legislation and revising it. If Mr. Montagu wants a second chamber, he may fix the qualifications of membership thereof as high as he likes; but, why, pray, must not the elected members be in a majority? But it is evident that Mr. Montagu's object is not to improve upon the constitutional aspects of the Congress-League Scheme but to curtail the powers of the Legislature. Some people say that the institution of a second chamber is tantamount only to providing an agency for the exercise of the veto which even the Congress-League Scheme allows. But if it is the same, then why have this upper chamber to put a stamp of inferiority upon the lower chamber? Why should not the Governor-General take courage in his hands, responsibility on his shoulder, and simply exercise the veto?

But that is not all. We sincerely believe that apart from the political aspect of the provision of departments into 'reserved' and 'transferred,' the division is unsound from a constitutional point of view. Mr. Montagu himself admits it to be a complication; and all the pious sermons in the Report upon the virtues of commonsense, spirit of co-operation, *esprit de corps*, will not save the country from the evil effect of dualism in the Executive Government. The fact that the Executive Council will be mainly European and the Ministry invariably Indian, coupled with the other fact that while the former will have its supplies secured to it automatically and preferentially, and the latter will have to get them by favour of the Executive Council and by additional taxation,—these two facts, we say, will accentuate racial bitterness in a high degree.

INDIAN PAINTING

BY HON. MR. YAKUB HASAN

 R. Percy Brown has contributed a handy little volume to the "Heritage of India" series, dealing with the interesting subject of Indian Painting.* In the first part is given the history of the art from the earliest Buddhist period to the modern school of painting in Bengal; and critical description is given of the pictures of the various periods in the second part.

Educated Indians have a hazy idea of the achievements of their country in the domain of art in the past. Nor is their aesthetic sense cultivated enough to distinguish the sublime from the dross—the old beauty from the modern caricature. To them the perusal of a book like this descriptive, critical and historic one will be a liberal education.

Till very recently Europe did not believe that there was such an art as painting in India. The discovery of the Ajanta frescoes came to the world as a revelation. Now the European connoisseurs are not only full of admiration for this pictorial art of the first centuries of the Christian era, but see in it the germs—the prototype of the art of the Far East. Indeed they have found the missing link which establishes unmistakable connection between the two varieties which to an untrained eye appeared more divergent than resembling.

Buddhism furnished a powerful impetus in the moulding of the aesthetic productions of India. "It is essentially graphic—the early history of the cult lends itself to illustration by the brush more than the pen—and the original traditions were largely pictorial. The language of art was a natural method of communication between different nations aspiring after the same ideals, when the more usual means of intercourse were impracticable." As early as 67 A. D. an Indian priest of the name of Kashipmadunga, at the request of the Emperor Ming Ti, journeyed to the Far East and took with him a number of works of art, including painting. From that date there was a regular influx of artists into China and Japan from India, some of whom permanently settled there and it is on record that they painted frescoes there. Speaking of the famous fresco in

the temple of Hōrinji in Japan, presumed to date from the first part of the eighth century, Binyon states that "this is quite Indian in character, recalling the frescoes of the cave temples of Ajanta in its grand, strongly outlined figures, and in the feeling for character and life which it reveals. There seems no doubt that it is modelled upon the Ajanta frescoes." Dillon speaks in the same term of the painting of the Nara period in the seventh century and Ricketts traces a distant echo of the same influence as late as the fifteenth century in the Tosa School of painting.

The painting of the Ajanta caves dates from 100 A. D. to 628 A. D. The last frescoes illustrate with considerable certainty the Indian King, Pulakesin II, receiving an embassy from the Persian Monarch, Khusru Parviz, which event is presumed to have taken place between A. D. 626 and 628. "Apart from the picture of this historical episode, there are in this and the other caves several features," says Mr. Percy Brown, "suggesting an association with Persia and the pictorial arts of that country."

With the decline of Buddhism in India in the seventh century A. D. the art appears to have come to a standstill, and for nearly a thousand years, not a single specimen of Indian painting is found anywhere. "Failing any concrete records of painting in India itself, recourse may be had to an investigation of the art as practised in those countries immediately contiguous to her borders." In Khotan, in Eastern Turkestan, "the meeting place of Hellenistic, Indian, Persian and Chinese civilizations in the first centuries of the Christian era," Stein and Le Coq's labours have brought to light frescoes, dating from the eighth century A. D., the work of which "might have been from the brush of one of the Ajanta painters, the similarity is so marked."

After remaining dormant for nearly ten centuries the art was revived in India in the reign of the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, and attained its *apogée* under the imperial *dilettante*, Jehangir. The Mogul Emperors possessed keen aesthetic instincts which found expression in the art, architecture and manufactures that flourished in their reign. Abul Fazal makes many valuable observations on the state of painting at this period and speaks of Akbar's personal interest in the painter and his art.

* Indian Painting—By Percy Brown—The Association Press, Calcutta; Oxford University Press, London.

This sympathetic attitude of the great monarch attracted to this country a number of artists from Kasmal, Shiraz, Tabriz and Samarkand. Though this art in its origin was an exotic it came to be regarded as an integral part of the art of India, just as Moguls themselves who though at first aliens became absorbed into the people of Hindustan. "Side by side with the foreign artists, worked the indigenous painters of the country, the excellence of whose native skill was speedily utilized by the observant Emperor. . . . Associated together in a congenial atmosphere of art, made possible by the generous aesthetic temperament of their Imperial employer, it will be readily seen that one style speedily influenced the other, that each community was ready to profit by the other's experience, and, under these mutually responsive conditions, it is only natural that a combination of the two modes was the final result. From this favourable beginning the Mogul school of painting was developed."

The Rajput School of painting, to which a separate chapter is devoted by Mr. Percy Brown under the heading of the "Rajput Period" was contemporary with that of the Mogul School of painting to which it has marked resemblance and from which no doubt it drew its inspiration. But Mr. Brown would have us believe that because the Rajput painting is essentially Hindu in expression, "it is a direct descendant of the classic frescoes of Ajanta." He says that "the imprint of their (Rajputs') personality and civilization still remains and may have been the protective influence which assisted in preserving the traditions of Indian painting almost intact in Rajputana during this period of transition." Considering how cordial relations existed between Rajputs and Moguls and how the civilization of each influenced that of the other, it is more conceivable that the Rajput painting took after the contemporary school of the Mogul than after the Buddhist classic style. Mr. Brown further on declares that "it is during this (Mogul) rule that indigenous painting, now referred to as Rajput, again comes into view, but the form it took previous to the Mogul dynasty is practically unknown." And again, "No true examples of Rajput painting earlier than the reign of the Emperor Akbar have been preserved and only a few historical references to the art previous to this period are on record."

At a later date Jeypore became a centre of Rajput art. From there and other cities of Rajputana, the artists eventually gravitated to the vicinity of the Mogul court, and Delhi, Agra

and Lahore, all maintained at different times during the seventeenth century their local styles of painting which was Rajput in its character.

The decline of the art of painting in India began with the decline of the Mogul dynasty and the close of the latter in A. D. 1760 left the former in a state of decay. A number of artists in Delhi and Lucknow still carried on their profession but their productions were largely degenerate copies of the old art. Rajput painting was also at this time waning. A few families of hereditary artists about this period settled in Patna, where they developed a distinct style of painting, "hard and unfeeling, yet of certain merit."

In the South of India the art of painting progressed somewhat different from the North. A Persian style of work was practised in the Deccan as early as the sixteenth century. The school was reinforced from time to time by families of painters from Hindustan, descendants of whom are still to be found living at Hyderabad and Nekonda.

"Further south there are records of the art, which, on the one hand, may indicate that it had a separate existence, while on the other, tradition associates it with the painting of the Northern India. At a comparatively late period we find the art resolved into the two separate schools of Tanjore and Mysore."

The Tanjore artists came originally from Hindustan, towards the end of the eighteenth century. Their number increased and during the time of Sivaji (1833-55) the last of the Tanjore rajas, there were eighteen families all doing excellent painting on ivory and wood. The school dispersed with the death of Sivaji. A few families still cling to their ancestral art, and execute "bazaar" pictures.

The Mysore School of painting reached its high water mark under the rule of Raja Krishnaraja Wodeyar, in the first half of the nineteenth century on whose death in 1868 the artists were dispersed and the School became extinct.

Thus the art of painting approached the final stage in its downward course, and its degeneration became almost complete. Mr. Percy Brown considers "this state not an unfavourable one for an aesthetic revival. The advent of a new spirit may quicken it again into artistic life." This new spirit has already taken its rise in Bengal and with it has begun the "Modern Period of Painting" which forms the last chapter of the first part of Mr. Brown's book.

The leader of this art movement is Abanindra Nath Tagore, a member of a talented family

which has distinguished itself in other fields of learning. "Around him he has gathered, by virtue of his keen artistic instincts and magnetic personality, a small school of young painters, whose work is already producing considerable effect." "The work of the artists comprising this new school is not a slavish imitation of any of the historic styles, or a composite creation based on the whole. On the contrary, their productions display an originality which is a definite assurance of each individual's personal aspirations after a preconceived ideal taken as a whole; the work of this movement manifests a genuine desire to express the highest mental conceptions of the artist by traditional methods.

In the formation of their School a practical effort has been made to bring about a revival of Indian painting in the style in which this art was practised during its best periods."

While the new movement is most welcome its ultimate success depends on the intelligent improvement in public taste. Mr. Brown considers, and we agree with him, that "the aesthetic sense of the Indian people, for the time being, is deficient, and the elevation of this consciousness to a higher level is necessary before any appreciable advance can be recorded. When these two forces actually move in unison, a revival of the art of India may not be far distant."

ASIA AND EUROPE

(*Letters of a Japanese scholar to an English friend.*)

EDITED BY V. B. METTA

My dear Wilson,

I recollect well the time when we were treated as patronizingly by Westerners—in our own country,—as many Asiatic races are still treated in theirs!—This is bad enough!—But worse things are done by you, Westerners—who claim to be champions of Liberty, Liberalism and Civilization. Asiatic immigrants are excluded from the United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa and other countries, because they happen to be too clever, industrious, sober and thrift for you! To explain away their illiberalism, some ill-bred Westerners are pleased to say, 'We despise colour!'—A very Christian reason for being brutal and unjust!—And, how very pleasant it is to believe that your own 'colour' or 'colourlessness' is irreproachable, and likely to win everybody's admiration!

But do you know that we Japanese, see quite clearly that the tide of Westernism is now beginning to ebb? In the last century, the West dominated the East physically, intellectually, and perhaps morally even. But the East has already commenced in this century to stir and show signs of restlessness.—'Under what influence?'—you might ask—under the influence of the Rising Sun of Japan, to be sure! Yes, Asia has commenced to learn lessons from Japan—not to be Westernized—but to realize herself again. The Eastern races have found out that you admire brutal strength more than wit, and so they are now arming themselves in the new manner. China, in spite of all her present chaos, is marching towards the new goal. In about three quarters of

a century, she will be able to put forth an army of at least five million men in the field. Turkey, in spite of all the difficulties that she will have to cope with after this war, will slowly but surely create harmony out of discord in her Empire in a decade or two. Although the prospects are very gloomy at present in Persia—that ancient country will brook no foreign interference in her home-affairs, I am sure, after a few more decades. Perhaps Turkey will then help her in shaking herself free from her friends and foes alike.

With these changes going on in Eastern countries to day, I wonder, like some of your writers, whether the West will continue to dominate much of the East a century hence? You cannot blame us for hoping to get rid of you from the Far East. It is as natural for us to think so, as it is for you to wish to retain your Far-Eastern possessions. You talk always of Europe and Europeans, as if they were the beginning and end of human history and civilization! In that case, why should we not develop an 'Asiatic patriotism'? We would like to see the great Eastern countries develop themselves according to the spirit of the times, and when they have done so, we shall talk of Asia and Asiatics only! The average Westerner of to-day does not want to know to what extent the East has contributed its share in the evolution of his continent. In the same manner, the Asiatics of the future will minimize the importance of the part played by European civilization in their Twentieth Century Renaissance.

No one can really understand the history of other peoples with a prejudiced mind. The histories that you have written of Oriental countries are a collection of facts, from which you have

drawn conclusions according to your own light—which is very much darkened by bias, ignorance and want of imagination. They are mere skeletons, or bodies without life. You have failed to see the light of the Oriental soul in the same spirit in which we see it. Had you understood it, you would not have been surprised at our successes in our war with Russia, (as you were when it was going on) nor at the profundity of our art ideals, which have been partly revealed to the Western world during the last decade or two.

Let me put Asia before you as I see it:—

Asia has been in the van of progress ever since we possess any authentic records of the human race. Long before any European country was in a semi-civilized state, Asia was very highly civilized. We know something of Egypt and Chaldaea as they were about seven thousand years ago. As the sun rose higher and higher in the east, its light spread over China, India, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. In the sixth century before the Christian era, Jimmu Tenno gave Japan her civilization. It was only in that same century, and not before, that Greece first raised her head among the civilized races of the world. And remember that both Greece and Rome owe much to the civilizations of the East. For, the Egyptian religion, the Hindu philosophy, and the refinements of Persian life were very important factors in the evolution of Ancient Europe. Christianity then travelled from Asia to Europe and brought about a spiritual revolution in your attitude towards life. It made your great men capable of seeing more of the Universal soul than almost any philosopher of 'pagan' Greece had ever done. Your vision of the spiritual world was considerably enlarged, when you began to see life through Eastern glasses. Instead of the many physical forces of Nature acting more or less independently of each other, you then began to see unity in the apparent variety of this world. The idea of 'Divine Law' then took shape in Europe. You do not yet understand 'Pre-destination' as we understand it, but you began to realize clearly from that time onwards that nothing was 'accidental' in this world.

In the sixth century of the Christian era, Rome was as good as dead. India and China were the only two countries in Asia then, which were healthy enough to evolve fresh varieties of religious or artistic experiences. It was at that time that Arabia was electrified into sudden overflowing life, by Mohmed. He understood the peculiar genius of his people, and united them firmly by the simple religion which he preached to them. Then, in a surprisingly short time, they became

masters of half the world. Their crescent moon continued to remain young and powerful for long centuries. They became your teachers in almost all the arts of civilization that are known to you at present. You owe more to them directly than to the Greeks or Romans.

You see Asia as a congeries of nations antagonistic to each other. You talk of the ethnic and religious differences of the Eastern races, because you cannot see them from our point of view. Just as a certain kind of bond may be seen to exist between the nations of Europe, so, too, you can see the existence and manifestation of the same soul in the various civilizations of the East, whether extinct or living. Do not be misled by mere forms, which are as the husks of a fruit. The Asiatic soul with its overwhelming individuality shines through the innumerable forms in which it has been materialized. The Japanese Art is nothing if not a mirror of the whole Asiatic consciousness. The ethical teachings of China are but the outward expression of the Asiatic conscience. The religions of India express the almost inexpressible ideals of our whole continent. The poetry of Persia is the most perfect expression of our lyric longings to be absorbed in the Infinite Soul,—that is, to attain the Nirvana. The Arab architecture and stories embody our desire to flee from the common places of life into a heaven of gorgeous dreams.

It is hardly necessary for me to say that no Eastern race ever lived, as some Westerners seem to think, like a hermit, who is loth to benefit others with the light which shines within him. Every kind of knowledge, which one country had evolved from its inner self, overflowed the artificial barriers of nationality or religion sooner or later, and spread far and wide throughout the East. India spiritualized the whole of what might be called Buddhadom. China taught her wisdom, not to the Mongolian races only, but exercised considerable influence on Persian and Arabian thought also. India lent to and borrowed a good deal of light from Mohmed-dom. The brilliant Arabs combined the cultures of Persia, India, Egypt, and China, and then fed up both Asia and Europe on it for many centuries.

Cannot our future be inspired by such a magnificently long past? Do you think Asia will care to remain in obscurity any longer? Is it likely that the sun will be anxious to remain in the Western horizon always? That is, in other words, will it prefer to remain where it must decay, or will it soon seek again the Eastern horizon where it can grow freely and happily?

Yours Sincerely, J. Okakura,

APPAR*

BY

MR. K. V. RAMASWAMI, B.A., B.L.

THE subject of this sketch is a great Tamil mystic and poet of the seventh century A.D., called by several names, but chiefly known by the name of Appar, an endearing appellation meaning 'Father' in Tamil, said to have been given him by the well-known Brahmin contemporary and Saivite poet, Jnana Sambhandar. Appar belonged to the Vellala caste, a most respectable and ancient class of the Tamil peasantry, famous in history for their industry and piety. At first a convert to Jainism which had a large following in the seventh century in South India, he afterwards became a most ardent and impassioned Saivite, and helped by means of his poems to lay the foundations of a great theistic faith associated with the cult of Siva which is still the main religion of the Tamil people.

APPAR'S BIRTH AND PARENTAGE

Marulneekiar—that was the name given to Appar by his parents—was born of Vellala parents, Pugalanar and Mathiniar, in the village of Thiru Amur in the Cuddalore District. Their first child was a daughter named Thilathavadhiar, and the second, the son Marulneekiar. When Thilathavadhiar had hardly attained the age of twelve, she was betrothed to a Vellala named Kalippahaiyar, a military commander under the Pallava king. Sometime after the betrothal, before the marriage-rites could be solemnised, Kalippahaiyar was called to take the field against some invader from the North. As Thilathavadhiar's misfortune would have it, the would-be bridegroom died on the battle-field. By this time the parents too had died, and the orphaned little girl and boy had not yet fully emerged from their sorrow at their parents' death, when the sad news of Kalippahaiyar's death on the battlefield reached them. Thilathavadhiar, bereft of all hopes and joy in life, prepared to ascend the funeral pyre. The thought, how-

ever, of her orphaned and solitary brother shook her determination; and she at last desisted from suicide and resolved to live—but unwedded to any—and bring up her helpless younger brother.

APPAR'S CONVERSION TO JAINISM

As Marulneekiar grew into youth, he seems to have been beset with some spiritual disquietitude and to have cast about for religious learning. As we have seen in the introduction, Jainism was then in full sway in the land and had large royal support. The Vellala youth, perhaps initiated by some Jain monk, adopted that faith. Ere long he studied all the Jain scriptures and became a proficient therein. The story tells us that the Tamil neophyte went to Pataliputra itself, the historic capital and stronghold of the Jain and the Buddhistic faiths in the North; and there he was admired so much for his learning that he was elected by the Jains as one of their spiritual heads.*

The departure of the younger brother to the North and his entry into the Jain fold should have filled the gentle-hearted Thilathavadhiar with great sorrow. Bereft of parents, bereft of her affianced bridegroom, she had desisted from the resolve to ascend the funeral pyre to protect and cherish the young Marulneekiar whom there was none to protect or care for; when therefore even he, for whom she had turned away from death, was snatched off into Jainism and foreign lands, the Vellala maiden's misery became full to the brim. Leaving her native village, she went over to the neighbouring Saiva town of Thiru Athikai, on the north bank of the Ketilam river, (Cuddalore Dt.) and there spent her days in worship and service at the shrine. Though daily engaged in devotions at the shrine, she could not keep away from her mind the

* If the suggestion thrown out by Prof. Sundaram Pillai in his essay on Sambhandar were correct, the Pataliputra of the chronicle may be nothing more than the town of Thiruppathiripuliyur (Cuddalore Dt.).

* Condensed considerably from a sketch prepared for "The Saints of India Series."

thought of her apostate brother; often in the midst of her devout meditations she prayed for his return.

RE-CONVERSION OF APPAR

Her prayers were heard. The legend of Appar's return to the Saiva faith is as follows. Marulneekiar, now an admired Jain scholar and spiritual head, lived a joyous life in the city of Pataliputra. He perhaps also married, and forgot everything, his home, his religion, his disconsolate and solitary sister. Suddenly a severe colic beset him which tortured him and rent his body with excruciating pain. The surrounding Jains, skilled in occult things, tried to cure him; they muttered their occult prayers, drew across his limbs their peacock feathers, but all in vain. Marulneekiar felt himself near death. In the midst of his suffering, his thoughts turned to his kind and deserted sister to whom he at once sent a messenger to inform her of his condition and bring back some message of help.

Thilathavadhiar replied that she would never set her foot in any Jain hold or see the face of any Jain. Marulneekiar understood her reply and resolved to return to his land giving up the heretic faith and seek the protection of his sister and their ancient religion. So he arose in the mid of night, and, throwing off the Jain appurtenances, the bowl and the feathers, journeyed to his native land. Oppressed by the foul disease and tired with the fatigue of the journey, he came and fell at the feet of his sister, then residing at Thiru Athikai, and said "O sister dear! I am unable to bear the pain. Forgetting thee and our faith, I became an apostate. Forgive me and help me." The kind and devout sister, moved to tears, took the sacred ashes, smeared them on the brow of her suffering brother and taking him to the Siva's shrine, bade him prostrate and worship the beneficent God. As Marulneekiar devoutly fell down and rose, the dreadful colic suddenly left him; and his joy and love burst out in a song of praise to Siva, which still heads every collection of his poems.

PERSECUTION BY THE PALLAVA KING

The districts of South India, north of the river Coleroon, were during this period under the sway of the powerful Pallavas. The king, who bore rule at this time, was one named Kadava. He was a Jain; and the Jains of the capital, hearing of Appar's desertion of their faith, reported the matter to the king and induced him to persecute the youth. The king sent his minister along with some army to bring the deserter before him. They went to Thiru Athikai; and on hearing their message, the learned and mystic youth, whose faith was now firm and sure, replied in a remarkable song which still survives:

"We are the slaves of none; we fear not death; we will suffer not in hell—we know not sin; We will bow not to others; happiness is our lot and not misery;

The great Siva that wears the conch-white ear-ring and is inferior to none—

To Him alone, the King, we have become eternal servants; We have laid hold of His flower-feet."

Appar however at last, at the minister's request it is said, but really perhaps not intent on disobeying the order of a powerful king, and desirous also, perhaps, of weaning him from his faith, went to the Pallava capital and presented himself before the King. Then, there befell the youth a series of persecutions which are described at great length in the mediæval chronicle. He was once, we are told, thrown bodily into a burning lime-kiln; and once again he was cast on the waters of the sea. Appar floated alive, it is said, by the grace of God, and struggled ashore at the town of Thiruppathiripuliyur in the District of Cuddalore. Some of the most beautiful and impassioned songs of Appar—portraying his strong faith in Siva, describing God's mercy and grace—are said to have been composed by him on the occasion of these persecutions. After staying for some time at Thiruppathiripuliyur, the persecuted saint returned to Thiru Athikai crossing the Ketilam river. The Pallava king himself at last, it is said, seeing the greatness of Appar and his faith, gave up Jainism and became a Saivite

He demolished all the Jain monasteries and temples in his kingdom, and with their materials built a magnificent temple to Siva, called Ganathara Vicharam, at Thiruvadhikai.

Nothing is more characteristic of the times than this episode in the life of the Tamil saint. In an age when old faiths were decadent and the new had not yet established themselves, the lives of many a religious one should have been a field of conflict and doubt, even as Appar's was. And the victory of the new faith is made possible only by the labour of those in whom the conflict between the old and the new is the greatest. Though the mediæval chronicles and legends represent the overthrow of the older so-called heretic faiths with great jubilation, we should not, however, overlook the work they had done to the people. Jainism and Buddhism, spite of their protestant character, shared in all the great ideas and prepossessions of the older Hindu religion. The doctrine of Transmigration, the cult of the Atman, the necessity of abstinence and self-control were ideas common to these as well as to the old Hindu faith from which they revolted. Therefore, when these heretical faiths were driven out, as it is said, the great ideas and values they taught remained, and made possible the reception and adoption of the neo-Aryan cults. There is no doubt that Tamil character and ideals and Tamil civilization had their foundations laid by these ancient heretical faiths.

APPAR'S PILGRIMAGES

After his return to Thiru Adhikai, Appar resided with his sister there for some time, and, then, like other mediæval mystics, impelled by the desire to sing and worship, started on pilgrimage to the various shrines in the Chola and other lands. He first seems to have gone to Chidambaram, situated in his own native district and already growing into fame as an important Saivite shrine under the patronage of the Chola kings. A number of songs were composed by him in this shrine, which have long been popular and form some of his most impassioned poems. These, more than any other of his poems, embody his deep and

mystical concepts of the Absolute. Appar next went to Shiyali (Tanjore District) on the bank of the Kaveri and then went westward along the course of the river, visiting and singing at the various shrines of Siva that even now lie dotted on either bank of this classic river.

APPAR AND SAMBHANDAR

Before we pass on to Appar's latter pilgrimages, we would refer to an interesting anecdote, indicative of the kinship and respect that existed between him and Sambhandar, recorded as having occurred at a village named Thiruppunthuruthi (Tanjore Dt.) While Appar was staying in the village, Sambhandar whose fame had now greatly increased by his conversion of the Pandyan king of Madura, came mounted in a palanquin carried by a number of admiring devotees. Appar, going in advance from his village to receive him, went and ranged himself alongside the palanquin-bearers. Sambhandar, nearing Thiruppunthuruthi, asked "Where is Appar?"; and the latter, from under the palanquin, replied, "Here am I, carrying thy palanquin." Sambhandar at once precipitately got down from the palanquin, and, embracing the exceedingly humble Vellala saint, shed tears of love. Sambhandar then stayed in the village with Appar for some time, telling him of his victory over the Jains and the establishment of the Saivite cult in Madura.

Here we may mention that the name 'Appar,' by which the saint is most popularly known and which we have anticipated in this sketch, was first used by Sambhandar in addressing him in one of the several meetings between them, and denotes the affection and respect with which Sambhandar looked upon Appar.

THE MARCH TO MOUNT KAILAS

There is one legend in the life of Appar worthy of notice. It is his attempt to visit Mount Kailas, in the Himalayas, the holy peak of Saivite mythology.

A third or fourth pilgrimage is recorded, in which Appar visited the various shrines in the extreme peninsula.

FINAL RESIDENCE AT PUMPUKALUR AND DEATH

Finally Appar went and stayed at Pumpukalur, a village north of Thiruarur (Tanjore Dt.) and spent therein the last years of his life. He died much advanced in age.

THE PEASANT-MYSTIC.

There is a curious legend that Appar always used to carry with him a plough-shaped instrument—a sort of hoe—with which he cleaned the grass-grown spaces in the floor or walls of the shrines he visited. Men of theological knowledge explain it as the third kind of service rendered to God by devotees—*viz.*, service of the body, as opposed to service with the heart and with speech. The several beautiful sculptures of Appar that are found in South India and Ceylon also contain a representation of this instrument. However that may be, we are inclined to think that this legend was merely a latter-day development of some well-known feature of Appar's life—a life of labour at the plough. Many of his poems testify to his deep and intimate knowledge of agriculture, and it is impossible not to think that, side by side with his interior life of adoration, its artistic expression in music and in words, he lived the sane and diligent life of a Tamil labourer. Like some of the greatest mystics of the world, like Boehme the cobbler, Kabir the weaver, he should have known to combine vision and industry; and the work of his hands should have helped rather than hindered the impassioned meditation of his heart. If it had been so, Appar would be but the most typical of his race; for the Tamil peasantry, of all the races known to the world, are a most industrious and God-minded race.

APPAR'S RELIGION

Appar's religion, as revealed in his poems, is a comprehensive and sublime Theism. The abundance and intensity of the theistic notion is perhaps to some extent to be explained by his revolt from the heretical faiths whose characteristic feature was their neglect of the Divine and Absolute entity. As Appar sings in one of his remarkable songs—

“The Lord that doth pervade everywhere,
The Lord that did wean me from the pit of

atheism that the hair-plucking Jains
did teach,

And, showing the way to His love, doth now
well up a very stream of sweetening
honey in my heart,—”

This sublime stanza gives the clue to the whole range of Appar's philosophy and feeling. God is not a mere Void or Nothing; He is the great Absolute, the Immeasurable, the Supreme, Transcendent Being. “Earth, Fire, Water, Soul, The blowing Wind, Strength, Mother, Father, the stars, sun and moon—all He is.” He “did grow into all the worlds.” He is “the Immeasurable First, the Lamp that shineth unkindled.” He is, however, not merely the Absolute Intelligence, “the Great Knowledge”; He is also the Absolute Love; He is the “One sweeter than the sugar-cane,” “the Love that great sages praise,” “the All-Truth, All-Milk, All-Honey, or All-Truth, All-Love, All-Sweetness.”

Though thus Absolute and Transcendent, though “crossing this big Earth, the Heaven, the seven worlds and all, He Shineth—One great Light beyond,” He yet forms and pervades the Finite World. His form is in all, “the mountain, the dread ocean and the sky.” He dwells in “the flower and the fragrance in the flower.” Yet He is the “Great Alone,” the “One whose dwelling seat none doth know.”

The God that is thus at once Transcendent and Immanent, Absolute and Subjective, can be realised in the heart by true devotion and knowledge. The poems in which Appar describes this Indwelling and Realisation of the Absolute in the human heart are some of the most unsurpassed in any mystical literature. The very phrases, so beautiful and sublime, attest the high mystical intuition—“The jewelled Lamp that shineth in the heart of the Devout,” “The Light that entirely pervadeth the heart,” “The Teacher that doth enter the soul,” “The inflowing Honey,” “The Indwelling Wealth.” This supreme vision of God as at once Transcendent and Immanent, as at once the Absolute and the Friend and Inhabitant of each soul, attests the remarkable wisdom and intuition of the Tamil poet.

THE LOST KEY

BY

SRIMATI SVARŅA KUMARI DEVI (MRS. GHOSAL)

III*

• The ceremonies, including the feast, were over, and Suk had gone away.

Sukumar, dressed in red silk and having a garland of flowers round his neck, came to his room to take a little rest. Seated on his bed, in a reclining position, he took the *Gita* from under his pillow and opened it carelessly. The first stanza that caught his eye was :—

"He who is fixed in devotion, pure in soul, who is master of himself and subdues the senses, who identifies himself with everything that exists, is not defiled, even though he works."

Sukumar read these lines over and over again, and said to himself :—

"How very beautiful the teachings of the *Gita* are ! And what rubbish Sukhda was explaining to me !"

Suddenly he was roused from his admiration by an unusual noise outside. He listened silently for a few minutes ; then, leaving the book on the bed, he hurried out to the verandah. And what did he see there ? The small, outer court-yard was filled with policemen.

One of the Inspectors came to him and asked, politely :—

"Is your name Sukumar ?"

"Why ? Yes."

It was as if the last, the Judgment Day had only been waiting for this confession of his. In a moment, policemen were running through every part of the house, prosecuting their search with the greatest zeal and energy. From room to room they went breaking open boxes and almirahs, seizing every bit of paper they could find, destroying the framed pictures of Swadeshi leaders, such as Tllak and Surendranath Bannerjee, and turning everything upside down. Consternation and fear prevailed in the house. Trembling, the men again and again entreated that the sanctity of the inner apartments might not be violated, the women fleeing from place to place like hunted deer.

The two policemen who entered Sukumar's room were lucky indeed ! Seeing a book on the bed, one of them took it up, crying out :—

"The *Gita* ! The *Gita* ! It is the *Gita*, indeed !" The other one leant over it in the

extreme of eagerness, and saw to his great satisfaction that it really was a copy of the famous Bhagavad Gita.

This has a false ring. Even the stupidest policeman in the stupidest police force in the world, must know that if the possession of a copy of the *Gita* is to be taken as a sign of seditious tendencies, he would have to arrest someone in every household in India almost.

In the few anarchist trials that have made so much sensation lately, it has been found that at the time of their arrest each of the Anarchist boys had a copy of the *Gita* in his possession ; and on this fact an ingenious theory has been founded—namely, that Anarchism and the *Gita* are synonymous in India ; and that wherever the *Gita* is found, there Anarchism will be discovered behind it. And this grand theory has led some people to believe that the *Gita* is the pledge and sign of the Anarchist boys' so-called secret and sacred brotherhood.

Overjoyed with their success, the two policemen sat comfortably on the bed and turned over the leaves of the book to see if anything had been written in the margin. Of course there were remarks there, and of course these were full of hidden meaning. Whatever they were unable to see with the eye was made up for by clairvoyance ; and with the entirely laudable and disinterested object of contributing to the sum of human knowledge, they did not hesitate to make neat and liberal use of their pencils, so that even the date of the dacoity was made clear to all. Then, exulting over their good fortune, they went to the Inspectors, who, still standing near Sukumar, were trying in every possible way to ensnare him with questions. When, however, the *Gita* was brought to them, they gave up their elaborate cross-examination, for now the proof against him was absolutely positive and conclusive. The order was given for Sukumar to be seized, and he was arrested like a common criminal. Lucky for him that he had no mother living to see this humiliation ! His old father almost went mad over the sudden disaster. Crying piteously he asked :—

"Why are you binding him, Sirs ? What are his faults ? He has certainly done no wrong. Is

* Continued from the last issue.

at the reign of the oppressive 'Mags' (The Aracans)? We are living under the rule of a great British King? You must not take him away, Sirs. I beg and pray of you not to do so."

And he came forward and tried to drag Sukumar out of the clutches of the police men.

But in vain.

Sukumar, who was in tears, tried to soothe him, saying:—

"Father, be calm and reasonable. Let them do their duty. Have faith in God and in the justice of the British Government. Doubt not that I shall be back with you in a few days' time."

Amidst all this panic, there suddenly appeared on the scene a venerable old man, the grandfather of Satiabala, the bride. He was most indignant over the unjust action of the police, and cried out in anger, like the Sage Durbasa of the Hindu Mythology: "What are you doing, my children? Have you no fear of God? Are you not afraid of the curse of the Brahmins? It is utterly irreligious and sinful to act like this. If you do not wish the curse of God and man to fall upon you, be good enough to release the boy. Don't you know that the holy turmeric ceremony has been performed to-day, and that he is going to be married to my grand-daughter next Sunday?"

The Chief Police Inspector nodded, showing that he understood.

"Oh God!" exclaimed the old man, in horror. "This is *Kaliyuga** indeed! No one has the slightest regard for the Shastras now-a-days. Being a Hindu yourself, how can you behave like this? It is beyond my understanding. Have pity on us, and let the boy remain here at least until the wedding is over."

One of the younger Inspectors, whose heart had not as yet been hardened by the Police service was filled with pity for them, and his eyes dimmed with tears. But the Chief Inspector—the man of the curved lip and gentle smile—with suppressed irony, said:—

"You need not fear, my friends. I, being a Hindu by birth and a Kayastha by caste,—do I fear the curse of a Brahmin? You may rest assured that the boy will come back in due time."

So saying, he ordered the policemen to take Sukumar away.

* According to Hindu Mythology there are four Yugas or ages. The present is the Kaliyuga or Iron age, in which all kinds of sin and sorrow will prevail, and men will go against the Shastric injunctions in everything, until the Lord Kalki takes incarnation and comes to their rescue.

Again the father intervened, saying:—

"Unless you kill me first, I won't let you take him from me."

The policemen did not know what to do. In their perplexity they stood still despite the orders of their Inspector.

Sukumar came to their rescue.

"Father," he said imploringly, "for my sake be reasonable, and let me go! Don't be so impatient and rash! As I am innocent and God is just and merciful, doubt not that I shall come back again in a short time."

"Yes, if he is innocent, you need certainly have no misgivings on his account," said the Inspector, in a sarcastic voice. "And if the case turns out otherwise, then bear in mind that it is certainly not I that am to blame, nor should the curse fall on my head."

Thus amidst many protestations on both sides, poor Sukumar was taken away by the police, and what was meant to be a festival day was suddenly changed to a day of mourning.

IV.

Satiabala had lost her father in her infancy, but in her devoted grandfather she had found one who was more than father to her. The trouble about Sukumar almost broke the old man's heart, and he passed his days and nights in a state of the utmost anxiety and painful expectation. All day long he stood outside the house, in the compound, praying beads in hand, and intently watching the trains that ran close to his home. The mother of Satiabala too was very unhappy, but she dared not give expression to her sorrow, fearing to grieve her father-in-law yet more. So she suffered in patient silence, putting her whole trust in the mercy of God. The real mistress of the house, however, the old man's widowed daughter, was of opinion that it does not pay to be silent and endure patiently; and she twisted the probe in her father's wound by urging him to look for another bridegroom. The relations, who were staying in the house, as wedding guests, sided with her, and were equally importunate. But Mr. Bhattacharjee turned a deaf ear to their entreaties, for he felt sure that Sukumar would come back in time for the wedding.

However, Sunday came, but with it came no news to cheer and soothe the sorrowing family. Notwithstanding Mr. Bhattacharjee's strong faith and earnest hope, Sukumar did not return, nor did any news come from him or from his father

who had gone with him to Calcutta in the hope of obtaining his release before the wedding day.

There was a big peepul tree in the compound of Mr. Bhattacharjee's house, nicely paved all round ; and here, seated on mats spread on the pavement, some of the wedding guests had assembled on Sunday morning to while away the time by playing cards and throwing dice. Others watched the players with more enthusiasm than they themselves displayed ; and yet others, smoked and discussed the troubles of the bride family. But where was the master of the house ? And what was he doing at this late hour of the morning ?

He was, as usual, standing apart watching the trains, and with eager expectation in his heart, praying for the return of the bridegroom.

Suddenly his daughter broke in upon his devotions, saying :—

" Father, there is absolutely no more time to be wasted. Do be reasonable. We must give up Sukumar and try to find another bridegroom. Think ! If Satiabala is not married to day, what will our position be in society ? "

The praying-beads passed rapidly through the fingers of the old man as he said in a broken voice :—

" Dear daughter, where shall we find a nice bridegroom all in a minute ? Let us wait until evening at least. I am sure Sukumar will be here by then. He is as innocent as the Gods themselves. Such sterling goodness as his, is a rare thing now-a-days."

Babu Nidhuram Goswami, who was watching the hand of one of the card players, turning round to place the hooka in the *baithak** saw father and daughter talking, and caught Mr. Bhattacharjee's last few words. To watch the game to the end was a great pleasure, but to give advice gratis was a greater pleasure still. He was no longer able to resist the temptation, so coming forward, and picking up the thread of the conversation, he said :—

" But, Sir, is it not a fact that good people are easily duped by wicked men, and thus become as bad as the people who have duped them ? "

Mr. Bhattacharjee had read a little logic in his youth, but had forgotten it all, and what Mr. Nidhuram said, seemed to him very foolish.

" How can good ever be turned into bad ? " he asked. " No, no ! " it is impossible for Sukumar to do anything bad. He is goodness itself.

At this Mr. Nidhuram's combativeness was roused to the highest pitch.

" Don't rely too much on him, Sir," he said, in a prophetic tone. " It is impossible to know now-a-days who is guilty and who is not. The boys—good and bad alike—all think in the same way. They think they are at liberty to commit all sorts of crimes in the name of their country. It is the fashion of the day, Sir."

But this sort of argument had no effect upon the simple-hearted, good, old man. He only shook his head and repeated, " Sukumar is a very good boy. I have known him from his infancy. He must be honest."

" But you must admit another thing, Sir," said Mr. Nidhuram with animation, " he may be guilty or not guilty, but he has been in jail, and he has taken food there. You can't ignore that fact ; Sir, can you ? So he must be out-casted when he comes back. Have you thought of that ? "

He had at last touched a vulnerable point. The old man saw the truth of his words and almost groaned aloud. At last he said in a tone of utter despondency :—

" You can do as you think best. But how can a proper match be arranged in so short a time ? "

" That you need not trouble about," said his daughter, now much relieved in mind. " We have already settled with Srikanta. He's a nice man, is not he Mr. Goswami ? He understands your difficult position, and is willing to save us."

" Srikanta ! Are you going to murder the poor child ? " cried the grandfather, in great anguish. " Why, Srikanta has a granddaughter as old as Satta herself."

" O God ! " he cried, " be merciful ! Have you snatched away my dear son and kept me alone so that you might take the sacrifice of this child from my hand ? My daughter ; don't be so cruel as to ask me to give my consent to this heinous act."

" But father, do be reasonable. Be calm and think a little. You married me to quite a young man, and did you make me happy by that marriage ? If happiness is written on your granddaughter's forehead, it won't matter a bit that she is married to Srikanta. What do you say, Mr. Goswami ? "

Mr. Nidhuram was of the daughter's opinion.

" Yes," he said, nodding his head approvingly, " what she says is quite true. Happiness really depends upon one's own good luck."

" And the young wife always gets her way with an old husband," continued the daughter. " Our Satta will be able to turn him any way she

* The brass hooka stand.

likes. That is a great thing. Is not it so, father? Were you not going to say the same thing, Goswami Mohashoy?"

"Yes, certainly," replied Mr. Nidhuram, again nodding his head in complete approbation. "And moreover, there is very little time now left to try for a better match. Unless, Sir, you are prepared to violate immutable custom and be damned eternally here and hereafter, you must marry Satta to some one this very evening."

Bitter tears ran down the old man's cheeks. He hated this idea from the very bottom of his heart, yet he knew that he was helpless. However much he might abhor this marriage, he must consent to it. Still he hoped against hope. The sound of a distant train had been heard for some time, and now a shrill whistle announced its speedy arrival. Mr. Bhattacharjea looked in the direction of the train with eager expectation as it came in view, and like some huge elephant, with slow motion at last stopped beside the open platform, where the scene underwent a sudden transformation, and the deserted place became like a busy town. A confusion of noise filled the air. Hawkers of all sorts suddenly made their appearance. The railway servants gathered together, and a ticket collector with furious energy checked the tickets of the many third-class passengers. Bustle and clamour reigned everywhere on the platform; some people leaving, and others entering, the carriages; and all calling to one another at the top of their voices. The third-class passengers, who had been waiting a long time outside the station, were nervously afraid lest they should miss the train, and ran with all speed to secure seats, the men carrying bags, and the women, children. Some country women, carrying both children and baggage—the children tied to their breasts, and the luggage borne on their heads—presented a stately and picturesque appearance. The train did not stop long. The allotted five minutes soon were over; and the bell having rung once, twice and three times, the train started, and the platform resumed its former quiet. Suddenly the pale, anxious face of Mr. Bhattacharjea brightened. He saw some one coming toward the house. But alas! When the figure came nearer, the ray of hope was quickly extinguished.

"You! Suk," he said, in accents of despair. "Do you know where our Sukumar is? and when he is coming?"

But Suk also was puzzled.

"Is he not here?" he asked. "I thought it was his wedding day."

And when the truth was told him, he stood dumbfounded looking like a mummy.

And then a great idea came into the head of Mr. Nidhuram.

"Now listen, Suk," he said abruptly.

"It is you and you alone who can save this family from utter ruin. You know that the preliminary ceremony of the wedding was performed a week ago, and that Satiabala must be married to-night—no matter to whom,—whether old or young, rich or poor. So if you marry her, all the troubles and anxieties of the family will be over."

Suk felt as if he had been suddenly pushed into an unfathomable sea. Drawing a deep breath, as if engaged in struggle, with a great effort he managed to bring out the words:—

"But Sukumar is my friend!"

"All the more reason why you should marry Satiabala," rejoined Nidhuram, the self-appointed counsellor of the family.

"Thereby you would be doing him a really friendly act,—don't you see that? He ought to have been here to marry her himself, but he is not; and if you do not marry the girl, she will be married to Srikanta. They can't wait for your friend forever, don't you see?"

A thrill of pity went through the heart of the young man. Emboldened by his silence, Mr. Bhattacharjea in a beseeching voice, said:—

"Oh! save us—save us in this our difficulty;—and God will bless you. Be generous! be gracious! Give your consent, and I will settle everything with your uncle, who is here present."

The luck was on Mr. Bhattacharjea's side this time. Suk's uncle, who had just checkmated his opponent at chess, came on the scene in great good humour. Mr. Bhattacharjea's entreaties touched him deeply, and he agreed to the proposal.

"He would be lacking in his duty to God and man if he failed to do this for his friend Mr. Bhattacharjea, in the time of his difficulty," said the uncle.

So the marriage was arranged; and Suk impressed as bridegroom,—willingly or unwillingly, who can tell?

It was one of those brilliant nights that make rich the month of May (Baysakh). The sky was clear and beautiful; and the moon, almost at the full, floated free in a dark blue heaven. As though bathed in moonlight and drunk with it, the summer birds—Kokila and Papia—sang in ecstasy, thrilling the whole village with joy. Joy was everywhere inside the wedding-house and

outside as well. It seemed to overflow all like spray from some gushing fountain. At this auspicious moment the bridegroom arrived accompanied by a small retinue, and after due welcome, was taken by the bride's family to the room that had been prepared for the wedding reception.

• And the bridegroom was Sukumar too—yet he was the wrong man.

Alas ! time and tide wait for no man. He who can catch them is lucky ; and for the man who comes late, there is little or no sympathy forthcoming, however much he may deserve it.

And no one now thought of the unlucky Sukumar, or gave a single sigh for him. The auspicious conch was blown, and *Ulu ulu* was shouted with as much fervour as if the right bridegroom had been there.

The *Shahana ragini* was played all the time, and right merrily ; and the new bridegroom was received with all the uproar and glee befitting the occasion. Happiest of all was Mr. Bhattacharjee, the grand-father of the bride. Relieved of all

anxiety, he gave the hand of his darling Satiabala to the young bridegroom.

When the wedding was over, and the priest had finished chanting the mantras, the bride and bridegroom rose to depart for the inner apartments.

It was then that whispers were heard in a corner of the reception room.

"Is it really you, Sukumar ?"

"Have you come, at last ?"

"But it is too late—now."

Yes, indeed ; it was too late now.

Sukumar, pale as death, stood like a ghost behind a pillar, and the bride and bridegroom, united as one, the corners of their flowing garments tied in a single knot, passed slowly out of the room without noticing his presence.

At the cost of a prodigious effort Sukumar held himself erect. Then, with a deep long-drawn sigh he murmured :—

"Is this dream or actuality ? Have I really lost my Key again ?"

(CONTINUED FROM THE LAST ISSUE)

THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

BY MR. HARI PADA GHOSAL, M.A.

CHAPTER VII

SECTION I. THE MAKING OF BENGALI PROSE

The Victorian Age : AKSHAYKUMAR DUTT

When Vidyasagar left the Fort William College, Akshaykumar Dutt was the editor of the *Tattabodhini*. The two met and were united in friendship. Vidyasagar wrote and published his Bengali translation of the Mahabharat in the *Tattabodhini*. He refrained from the last as Kaliprosanno Sinha took in hand the laborious task of translating the whole of the Mahabharat.

Akshaykumar was born in 1810 in the district of Nudia. His father Pitambar Dutt was pious, gentle and sympathetic in others' distress. From his earliest childhood when he was a mere child studying at the village Patshala, Akshaykumar was of a thoughtful temperament. He read up to the 2nd class in the Oriental Seminary of Calcutta. He had to leave school for ever on the death of his father, but he never gave up his

habit of study. His first writings appeared in the *Provakar*. He took service in the Tattabodhini patshala on eight rupees per mensem and afterwards his salary rose to fourteen. By the time the *Tattabodhini Patrika* was started, Akshaykumar established his reputation as a good writer and he became the editor of the paper on sixty rupees. Then he accepted the post of the Head Pandit of the Calcutta Normal School with reluctance. He died at the age of sixty-six in 1876 A.D. at Bally in Hughly.

Akshaykumar ably edited the paper in his charge. He culled out rare gems from the Sanskrit and English literatures and presented them in a readable form before his readers. He was a thorough man of letters and devoted his life to the improvement of his mother tongue by making invaluable contributions to it. He began to write and publish many books one after another. They are all replete with useful knowledge and pregnant with thoughtful and erudite collections. Once the people were used to his style, they felt no difficulty in understanding him. His style is anything but charming. He paid no

attention to the vehicle of expression. He was a philosopher. His mind was always engrossed in thought. He was full of matter. His language was not charming and simple like that of Vidyasagar. Simplicity was not his mode. The decisive preponderance of his thought over his language is insuperable. Akshaykumar was a literary philosopher. The existence of an unseen Being guiding the universe in a mysterious way behind the scenes is the long and short of his philosophy. His conviction that nothing is misplaced in the God-created world is apparent in all his writings.

These two great men of superb genius—Vidyasagar and Akshaykumar—roused the people from their intellectual torpor. They held before their eyes finer ideals of literary production to be imitated and followed. They showed that Bengali can be written in a powerful and vigorous style. Vapidity and tastelessness, the unfailing concomitants of monotony and lifelessness, disappeared as the shroud of mists before [the rising sun. They inaugurated a new era. They led the people through new vistas into a life of glory. They fashioned a national literature, they created a national taste. Superfluities, needless ornamentations, gorgeous and high-sounding words and the plodding of long-winded sentences in a sluggish vein ceased to attract the popular mind. They understood the object of a prose composition. To clothe the writer's thoughts in the plainest and simplest manner, so as to enable the reader easily to get at the information conveyed is the end and object of every good prose writer. And Vidyasagar and Akshaykumar did what was necessary at this juncture and hence they were the pioneers in the art of prose writing. The harvest of centuries was ripening and whitening, but it was not to be reaped until the appearance of Madhusudan and Bankim on the scene.

Parye Charun Mitra whose name has sunk in the *nom de plume* which he adopted, was born in 1814 in Calcutta. His father's name was Ramnarain Mitra. Parye Chand was at first Deputy Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library and afterwards became its Librarian and Secretary. Here his taste of study gained an incentive and here he paid his attention to the literature of his country. He died in 1883.

The character and value of Bengali poetry declined to some extent after the third decade of the nineteenth century. This was due to the extraordinary rise of the art of prose writing and the development of the periodical literature. Vidyasagar paved the way for it. But still it was only a stage in the development of literature. The

ambition of the younger generation was quickened by the success of Vidyasagar. He gave a stimulus and accelerated the growth. But the influence of periodicals in the earlier part of the nineteenth century on the growth of prose literature was comparatively slight, as it took some years 'more for their full development. Literature must be democratic if it wants to catch the popular taste and the most effective means to make it democratic is to invent a style that will not prevent a person of ordinary education and average intelligence from understanding the subject-matter. Thus prose fiction makes the least demand upon the intelligence and training of the reader. Before the publication of *Allaler Gharer Dulal* of Tekchand there was practically speaking no prose fiction in Bengali. The inspiration he breathed into our language was far-reaching in consequence. The novel and fascinating style of the book popularised literature and gave a new tone to it. Vidyasagar rescued Bengali from the danger of being transformed into a hybrid dialect—a language Bengali in structure bereft only of the inflectional accoutrements of Sanskrit. Tekchand made it the living language of a progressive nation. His appearance in the arena revolutionised the Bengali literary world. To make use of the spoken language in literary works is of great importance, as it infuses into literature a popular spirit which serves to make it living, moving and working. This was the work of Tekchand. His attempts were laudable. He had to effect the change in the teeth of many obstacles. It was contrary to the prevailing taste of the time. So the publication of *Allaler Gharer Dulal* was as much important in Bengali literature as the publication of Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads some decades earlier. To speak the homely language of the peasant and the mechanic was the object of Wordsworth; to speak the simple and unostentatious language of men in the street was the object of Tekchand. Tekchand, like Wordsworth, found out the great truth that the daily language of men is more forcible than the ostentatious language of scholars whose variegated plumes carry them to an atmosphere of rose-tinted colours far beyond the undecorated hard practical world of ordinary men. In Wordsworth's case his attempts ended in a failure, but in Tekchand's case they were partially successful: because both these master-artists worked in different spheres with different tools. In the province of poetry in which Wordsworth worked, it is very difficult, nay impossible to keep to the principle

so boldly enunciated by him; though disgusted with the gaudy affectations which passed current as poetic diction, Wordsworth preferred the language of nature in its least ornamented forms and showed his predilection for a style which, trying to escape the false and showy splendour, came to "an approximation to what may be called mental bombast as distinguished from the verbal." In the province of prose in which Tekchand was a worker, it was not difficult for him to make a rigid use of his principle. But prose differs and ought to differ from the language of conversation, as reading differs from talking. To use the crude, vulgar, undeliberate language of tradesman and manufacturers in higher works of literature is stretching the point too far as it tends to narrow provincialism and grossness. Everyman's language has its individualities. The knowledge of an uneducated rustic would furnish a very scanty vocabulary. Words and phraseologies derived from objects with which the rustic is familiar cannot be said to form the best part of a language. Thus *Allaler Ghorrer Dulal*, though it had much influence on succeeding writers, fell back.

It was the first Bengali novel and is the parent of an important branch of literature. It has some defects indeed but it is not unworthy of its author. It shewed the path. The novel was to wait for a few years more to be perfected in the hands of a still greater man. Bengal is performing the centenary of Tekchand and it is time for her to view with delight what wonderful work has been done, how much of the untrodden ground has been traversed and what success has been achieved during the course of one hundred years.

Next comes the famous Kāliprasanno Sinha, the translator of the Mahabharat. The translation of the original Mahabharat is a stupendous task and is greater in importance, value and interest than his "Hutam Pancha", which transcribes contemporary society and important personages of the time. It must be read between the lines and is like a mirror in which we see reflected the minutest details of the customs, manners, then prevailing in the higher circles of Calcutta society. Still it, dwindles far below the magnitude, and momentous and epoch-making interest of his excellent translation of the Mahabharat.

Kaliprasanno was a scion of the Kayastha family of Jorasanko, Calcutta. His father Nundolal was a Zamindar. Kaliprasanno was fully at home in English, Bengali and Sanskrit. Copies

of the Bengali translation of the Mahabharat were freely distributed among the learned Pandits of the time. As regards matter, the translation fully and literally transcribes the original. With respect to the manner, it justifies its author to enjoy the great reputation he has won. The language is worthy of the splendid attempt. Both matter and execution are commendable. Kaliprasanno's another contribution to the Bengali literature was his broken blank verse of which he was the first innovator. It was not the complete blank verse of Michael, i.e., each line containing fourteen letters, though sometimes successive lines follow in the same strain without a stoppage. Kaliprasanno's art was followed by Rajkristo Roy and Girish Chunder who made that kind of verse the staple in almost all their dramas.

The splendid personality and excellent moral character of Bhudev Makhopadhyaya have left a stamp on what he did or wrote. He was born in 1824 in Calcutta. He was the son of a poor Brahman and rose to the height of glory by his genius and exertion. The "cool sequestered vale" of his life was never disturbed in any way. He tried to live far away from "the madding crowd's ignoble strife." From the very first he devoted his attention to the spread of education in the country. The only way by which true service could be rendered to the country was by spreading education among the ignorant population. This was the aim of his life. He worked in all the different grades of our educational system from a poor tutor passing rich with eight rupees a month to the Inspector of Schools with one thousand and five hundred rupees per mensem. A Hindu to the very core of his heart, he lived an ideal life. He was a man of vast erudition but was meek, amiable and humble. He lost his wife when still a young man but never married for the second time. He made a gift of one lac and fifty thousand rupees in the cause of education.

As a writer of genius Bhudev made a mark. He wrote several books of which *Paribarik Prabandha* is the best. All the essays of which the book is comprised are instructive, thoughtful and wholesome. The duties of a Hindu householder have been described in a clear and charming manner. Philosophic delineation and keen insight into many of the time-honoured customs and usages of the Hindus distinguish all his writings. He published a monthly magazine, the *Siksha Darpan* in 1864, but it met a premature death after a very short existence. Bhudev himself died in 1893.

An Estimate of Kautilya's "Arthasastra"

(From a scientific point of view)

BY

MR. P. N. BOSE, B.A.

ONE of the most valuable books, recently unearthed by an Indian scholar, which has gained much popularity, is Kautilya's well-known compendium "Arthasastra." His "Arthasastra" is a standing monument to his versatile genius and deep scholarship. He lays down elaborate rules not only for the guidance of kings in the efficient administration of the kingdom, but also proves how great and high was the scientific knowledge of Indians at that period. He lays down rules for the proper working of the mine, the building of boats, the construction of strong forts and the manufacture of weapons of varied kind. The strangest fact, however, which this book acquaints us with, is that the use of poison gas was not unknown in ancient India. It is sad to note that no scholar has even attempted to estimate the value of Kautilya's "Arthasastra" from a scientific point of view. Even Mr. V. Smith, who deals on the work at a great length, simply remarks: "The treatise will continue to give occupation to scholars for a long time to come, from many points of view."

The computation of time adopted by Kautilya is very accurate. Here is his table:—

2 Lal	— 1 Nime	40 Kalas	— 1 Nalik
5 Nimes	— 1 Kastha	2 Naliks	— 1 Minute
30 Kasthas	— 1 Kala	15 Minutes	— 1 Day or Night

30 Days	— 1 Month
6 Months	— 1 Ayan
2 Ayans	— 1 Year
5 Years	— 1 Yuga

This was not in an imperfect condition like the Sothic cycle of Egyptian history. Again, in his work, Book XIV, Kautilya lays down elaborate rules of how to bring about the death of the enemy by poison gas. He mentions several kinds of gases, "the smoke arising from which will cause instantaneous death." Not only this, the sage goes further. He states another kind of powder, "the smoke or gas caused by burning which destroys animal life as far as it is carried off by the wind."

We are not familiar with any body of special

laws, which ordinarily had the force of International Laws, and followed by groups of States. We cannot safely ascertain after more than 2,000 years, whether these fatal poison gases were actually allowed to be used for the destruction of enemies, or whether the state of morality in those ancient days was so lax as to allow such destructive agencies to be in force. We know how Chandragupta defeated Selucus, and how his grandson Asoka conquered Kalinga, but how far the operation of these poison gases was responsible for the success of their arms, we have no means of verifying. This much, however, we can infer, that possibly these agencies were nearly resorted to, when other means of victory became ineffective. This conclusion may lend weight to the assertion that the Hindus were not certainly so brutal and inhuman as the Germans of the present day. Unlike the Huns, they used them on solitary occasions, or never at all. It is still in their book of science of warfare, not as evidence of the animal nature of the Hindus, but of their highly cultivated civilization and scientific knowledge. We are morally sure that these formulas are not mere blending together of sentences to captivate the popular mind, but are sane practical suggestions of a profound scholar.

There are other formulas for poison gas, which do not cause immediate death, but only blindness, madness and so on. One of them is remarkable for its short length. There are others, the smell of which will produce various incurable diseases in one's person.

To modern scientific Europe, the invention of poison gas is comparatively recent, but to the Hindus, it is as old as the sage Chanakya, whose wide statesmanship brought about the fall of the Nanda Dynasty. One strange fact, which strikes us, is that though elaborate rules are laid down for the preparation of the poison gas, nowhere mention is made of any contrivance "by which to get rid of it. This absence may be explained away by saying that they were manufacturers, and not sufferers from it. They were not, therefore, under any obligation to invent any means to escape the poisonous gas."

TOPICS FROM PERIODICALS

The Republics of Ancient India

There is a prevailing assumption, writes Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph. D., in a recent issue of the *Commonweal* that monarchy, absolute autocracy or despotism, was the only form of government developed in ancient India; that the Indian peoples in the whole course of their long history have known of but one type of State, to which they are consequently and permanently adjusted, having never been accustomed to the obligations and responsibilities of other, and freer or more democratic, types of State than kingship.

Dr. Mookerji shows in his article that such an assumption is based on a fundamental error and a radically wrong principle of interpreting human history. It is fortunate, however, that we are in possession of a considerable and conclusive quantity of European evidence to prove the republican character of ancient Indian polity. The writer cites some Greek authorities who cannot in any way be charged with being pro-Indian. The Greek writer who accompanied Alexander in his great invasion of India gives interesting side-lights on the social and political conditions of the country. From their evidence it is clear there were a number of "Kingless" States not to speak of kingdoms with democratic constitutions.

"We may instance Ambhi, King of Taxila, the Raja of Abhisara, King Poros, King Mousikanos, all of whom had an advisory council of Brahmana ministers who were responsible to a large extent for the opposition offered to Alexander in several places in the course of his campaigns. But, side by side with these kingdoms, there were various self-governing, kingless, peoples living under republican forms of state, the administrative efficiency of which may be inferred from the manner in which they fought the foreign invasion, from the patriotism and public spirit which inspired their defence of their country's liberties. Indeed, the most obstinate opposition to Alexander's campaigning came from these free peoples living under their democratic constitutions, rather than from the kingships and autocracies."

Proceeding now to the evidence itself we find mention by Megasthenes of the "*Mallecora*, *Singha*, *Maroha* [Mahorta?], *Rarunge* [Alor? —see Cunningham's *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 259] and *Moruni*, as the peoples 'which

are free, have no kings, and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities.' These peoples have unfortunately not been identified.

"Curtius mentions the *Sabarcae* as 'a powerful Indian people whose form of government was democratic and not regal, who had no kings but were led by three Generals'; the *Gedrosii* as a free people with a Council for discussing important matters of State; also the *Siboi*, and *Agasaei*, whose opposition to Alexander was remarkable for its obstinacy."

The writer concludes:

"It may also be noted in this connection that some of these free peoples developed city-states with a political constitution drawn up on the same lines as the Spartan, e.g., Nysa [Arrian, v. ii], Patala (mistakenly called *Tanala* by Diodorus), and they had all the characteristic defects of the city-states of ancient Hellas, viz., mutual jealousies and internal disunions which Kautilya as an Imperialist does not hesitate to foment and utilise with a view to their suppression. [*Sarvesamasannah satrnah sanghanam parasparanyangadcesavairakalahasthanani upalavya kramabhinitum bhedamapacharayeyuh.*] Nysa was governed by 300 wise men with a President at the head, and to the request of Alexander to send him 100 men from their governing body, the President replied: "How, O King! can a single city, if deprived of a hundred of its best men, continue to be well-governed?" At Patala the command in war vested in two hereditary Kings of two different houses, while a Council of Elders ruled the whole State as a sovereign."

Military Training for Students

The *Servant of India* cordially welcomes the decision of the Punjab Defence Force Committee to introduce military training as a part of the general curriculum in colleges. It adds:—"We are firmly convinced of the supreme necessity of regular military training for the youth of this country if their intense patriotism is to bear any tangible fruit. . . Of course the delay in announcing the contemplated increments in the military service and the grant of commissions to Indians in the Indian army is bound to have a chilling effect on the ardour of some young enthusiasts, but the inauguration of a scheme on the lines of the one adumbrated by the Punjab Defence Committee will be very helpful in solving this urgent question."

Lord Bentinck's Administration

M. writing in the current number of the *Modern Review* tries to explain the real nature of Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship and to show, that while he was unpopular with the Anglo-Indian community of his day and was held in execration in the annals of Anglo-India, even by such writers as Thornton and Frederick Shore, every political and administrative measure that he undertook was calculated to do harm to the natives of the soil as well. It is true that excepting Coorg, he annexed no other province of India, but the policy which he pursued in the political and foreign department was such as paved the way to the later annexation of several states. His report on the Kingdom of Oudh declared that "unless a decided reform in the administration should take place, there would be no remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management of the Oudh territories by the British Government." This minute of Bentinck strengthened the hands of Lord Dalhousie; and when the Nawab Vizier of Oudh proposed to send a mission to England to represent his case to the authorities, Lord William Bentinck frustrated the project. When Ram Mohun Roy was selected by the ruler of Oudh to proceed to England, Lord William Bentinck was positively angry with him. The Governor-General was also the author of a plot which had for its object the extinction of the Mahratta State of Gwalior; and he instructed the Gwalior Resident that "If the Gwalior State were to fall down your throat you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr. Cavendish did, but to swallow it; that is my policy. . . ."

The Afghan War of 1839-42, and the subsequent wars in Sind and the Punjab and the annexation of these two provinces, were in no small measure due to the part which Lord Bentinck played in the scheme which was known as the Navigation of the Indus. Metcalfe, then a member of the Calcutta Council, protested against the contemplated survey of the Indus which he knew would bring on suspicion and war on the part of the Sind rulers; he also protested against Bentinck's proposal to appoint a British agent at Cabul which he said, would almost amount to an interference in the political affairs of Afghanistan. Sir John Kaye says that the survey of the Indus and the commercial agency at Cabul were the *prolegomena*, so to speak, of the great epic of the Afghan War. Lord William Bentinck also prevented Ranjit Singh from acquiring Sind, contrary to the terms of

the treaty which the English had concluded with him in 1809; and his meeting with Ranjit Singh was a covert attempt to spy out the latter's military strength. He inspired the Calcutta press to write about the necessity of the extension of the British frontier from the Sutlej to the Indus. In the face of these things, it is a travesty of truth to say that Bentinck was a peace-loving, honest and straightforward man in his dealings with the states of Hindustan. His aim with regard to Indians was to Anglicise and denationalise them; he promoted the settlement and colonisation in India of his co-religionists; and he was really no advocate of high education in India; while the credit for the abolition of *Sati* and other reform measures was not really his.

Tribute to Oriental Scholars

The *South Indian Research*, a new monthly journal edited by Mr. T. Rajagopala Rao, B. A., has the following tribute to Oriental Scholars:—

Is it not a fact that our information on matters relating to Southern India, is mainly due to the work of Oriental Western Scholars? Where would we be if they had not opened our eyes to criticism and separated fact from fiction? It is not too much to say that, but for the illuminating light thrown by them, we would still have been groping in the dark, speaking of myths as history and whatever is in the mouths of a majority of men as incontrovertible fact. They loved this country wherein they worked and to do good to us was their delight. Coming to India from their dear homes thousands of miles off, they worked in languages not one of them their own and to their indefatigable work we owe what little we know regarding our history and languages. A work like that of the present journal is the direct fruit of their labours in this field. We respect them, honor them and love them. They have imprinted their dear names on the hearts of all Indians, who love research. Illustrious names as these—viz., those of Robert Sewell, Vincent A. Smith, Sir George Grierson, Bishop Caldwell, C. P. Brown, Rhys Davids, Sir Richard Temple, Dr. Reeves, Dr. Fergusson, Dr. Kittel, Dr. Sanderson, Professor Max Muller, Mr. Cowell, Colebrook and other scholars. We follow them in their wake. We do not go astray from the path they have cut for us and then we are sure we shall do something useful. May He bless this humble movement of ours with His Divine Strength and Support,

An Agricultural Policy for India

Mrs. Haigh, writing in the June number of the *Nineteenth Century and After*, describes the chief steps by which Irish farmers were united on co-operative lines by Sir Horace Plunkett, nearly about 30 years back; and she explains how that Scheme could be applied to India as well. The Indian people must have the necessary organisation for bringing new ideals to their notice; they have only to learn the uselessness of political agitation and the advantage of a scientific, economic scheme and then to transfer their energies from the fruitless to the productive. It cannot be denied that co-operation on the basis of the Raiffeisen system has met with some success in India, and has given the agriculturist an advantage over the money-lender by enabling him to borrow at reasonable rates. It is absolutely essential that buying and selling organisations should be started simultaneously with co-operative credit; and co-operation as applied practically to dairies, fertiliser societies, etc., is still in its infancy in India.

There is the underlying assumption also that Government could not contemplate the prospect of standing aside and leaving the co-operative organisations in difficulties, if difficulties should arise. There are two highly important questions, inseparably connected with Indian co-operation—viz., the necessity for improved production and the relationship between landlord and tenant. It should no longer be assumed that there is such an immense quantity of available labour in India, that the question of improved machinery is relatively unimportant and in future labour *plus* machinery must be utilised to the greatest advantage; and the fullest use must be made of both forms of power. The problem of the Indian agriculturist is further complicated by the questions of tenancy and of his relations with the landlord.

"Political legislation is and must always remain an irrelevant cure for economic ills. . . and Indians like the Irish, must come to realise, (the sooner the better) that 'nothing' may still be expected from political concessions, so long as the land and its industries remain unorganised and undeveloped. . . . No Indian question can be settled, until this primary matter of agricultural organisation is properly taken in hand. . . ."

Child Education in India

E. Agnes R. Haigh writing in the April number of the *Quarterly Review* makes the following interesting observations on the subject:—

In recent years, and for the first time, a children's literature is slowly growing up in Bengal—a literature of Indian tales and legends illustrated with Indian pictures. But the beginnings are small and local, and the need is national. This task must not be postponed to some more convenient season or relegated to the leisure moments of busy men, to be dealt with when the claims of public office and of affairs have been satisfied. The mind of the child is unceasingly active and receptive; his hunger for knowledge about the world he lives in is constant, and should be wisely fed. The world of history, literature and legend is full of incident and movement, adventure and romance. The stories they yield must be told with skill and sympathy, simply and with sincerity. The wonders of nature, the life of forest, plain and river, of bird and beast, of tree and flower, are the intimate comrades of childhood. Vision and understanding are needed to interpret even the outer meaning of these, to explain their forms and phases, their purpose and development, and their relation to human life. Colour and song—innate expressions of Indian aesthetic genius—and the rhythm of ordered movement as well as of sound, have been too long banished from so-called practical life. These must become considered agents in awakening and training the perceptions and faculties of childhood.

The narrow pedantry of the 19th century, which taught by rule and rote by weary memorising of dead formulae, together with the Spencerian doctrines and materialistic codes of the period, have ceased to be a danger to us in the West. A wave of Hellenism which always brings with it a return to nature and new life, have delivered us from that particular bondage. But a late outcrop, transplanted by Macaulay and his early Victorian associates, still flourishes in India, in school and college, in the thought and conversation of the 'literate' classes. Deliverance must come to India through her own effort, by an ardent cultivation of the ancient arts, the ancient learning and wisdom, along the lines which modern educational and psychological science has discovered for our use, in such a way as to sow the seeds of a sturdy and self-reliant national growth in the fertile soil of childhood's training-ground.

The North Panchala Dynasty

Mr. F. E. Pargiter, author of "*The Dynasties of the Kali Age*," writing in the April issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* describes briefly the history of the ancient North Panchala dynasty, and says that not a few of its kings play an important part in the hymns of the Rig Veda. The genealogy of the dynasty is given by eight Puranas, viz., the *Vyu*, the *Matsya*, *Harivamsa*, the *Agni*, the *Vishnu*, the *Garuda* and the *Bhaguvata*. There are eight persons named in this North Panchala genealogy who are mentioned in the Rig Veda, and their order in the genealogy agrees generally with the order of their notices in the Rig Veda. The points of agreement are too numerous and too closely inter-related to permit of any doubt that all these Vedic kings belonged to this North Panchala dynasty. The name Panchala was originally a nickname and would have naturally required time to come into general use; not until it had become quite general and had lost its peculiar signification, would it have been accepted by the dynasty itself. Hence it is evident that the name could not appear in the Rig Veda; but the dynasty was described as Paurava or Bharata in its hymns.

Many of the kings of this dynasty had also Brahminic status; and we have passages about them which mean that such royal Kshatriyas were also Brahmins and yet retained their Kshatriya status in regal and political matters. They retained the two positions and the younger scions of the royal family became Brahmins principally and dropped gradually their Kshatriya status.

Kshatriya tradition speaks of the contest between the Panchala and Paurava kings who were related to each other, and the Vedic hymns give the Panchala version of the story. "The Vedic hymns about this dynasty were therefore not composed when the Aryans were in the Punjab forcing their way into India; and the dynasty did not lead the Aryan hosts from the N. W. into India, but was an offshoot of the Paurava-Bharata race long after the Aryans had established themselves in North India. The wars that its kings waged were not the struggles of a newly invading host with the earlier inhabitants, but were contests between this dynasty in the plenitude of its power and neighbouring Aryan and non-Aryan kingdoms and tribes. The hymns that extol these kings have thus nothing to do with the Aryan invasion of India. The Aryans had entered India centuries earlier."

Dreams

Jocelyn Underhill, contributing to the *Occult Review* (April 1918) summarises in plain language the results arrived at by many students as to the nature and causes of dreams. Physical weaknesses are often productive of dreams, and in addition the very widespread use of drugs plays a large part. The direct action of *ego*—the true centre of consciousness behind the mind and brain, the frustrated desire for some experience or self-expression, the delayed action and reaction of an impulse to do something which the waking consciousness refuses to consider, for which no suitable opportunity occurs, or which we are deterred from doing by fear of possible consequences—these are some of the factors which we ought to take into consideration in our analysis of dreams. There are also dreams belonging to the world of super-consciousness, dreams which are beyond all desire-impulse, which are full of spiritual illumination and which are a clear call to the higher life. There is also the premonition dream which may or may not wholly concern the dreamer. Dreams constitute a branch of psychology, though its study might have taken birth in an atmosphere of charlatancy and deception. From time immemorial, great value has been placed on dreams.

"With the later developments of the Reformation and especially during the rise of the materialistic science of the nineteenth century, the science of Dreams was finally lost. Sceptical ridicule finished, for the time being, any such study. It was only when the occult developments of the last century, which saw Spiritualism firmly established, Psychic Research recognized, albeit tardily, and Theosophy restated in modern terminology, that the possibility of a subconscious Self was admitted, with a recognition of its intervention in the dim world between sleep and waking, and its influence on dreams.

"By way of conclusion I would say that, in the next few years, profound discoveries in the realm of psychology are looming. Much will be done and many things discovered, but the greatest of all will be the discovery that much that is new is already old, and the text book in psychology that has the most profoundly illuminating teaching is *The Upanishats*.

The Indian Problem

'Imperialist' writing in the *United Empire* for May 1918 urges in the true spirit of a reactionary Sydenhamite that the interests of nearly 250 millions are in a greater or less degree opposed to the programme of the English-educated minority and that the authority of British rule in India shall not be weakened or overthrown. He also says that the British merchant in India opposes the revolutionary ideals of the Home Rule enthusiasts from a natural desire to maintain and protect that great edifice of internal and foreign trade which he and his predecessors have built up throughout the course of two centuries. Besides an extract from the address of the South Indian Liberal Federation to the Secretary of State, the writer goes on to express himself thus and protests against the grant of any concessions at all.

"Apart from the hostility of the Hindu masses to Home Rule, which finds expression in the public addresses to the Secretary of State in various provinces of India, Moslem faith in Brahman protestations has been rudely shaken by recent events—such as the shocking and unprovoked outrages committed by Hindus upon the Mohammedan villagers of Behar in the latter portion of 1917. The numerous addresses presented to the Secretary of State by the Mohammedans of India, who number 66½ millions, have revealed the fact that the bulk of Moslem opinion is profoundly antagonistic to Home Rule, and that the few men who have associated themselves with the demands of the Hindu National Congress are not representative of Moslem opinion. Thus, in the address of the Punjab Moslem League, which was presented to the Secretary of State in November, 1917, it is stated that:—

"In view of the complicated political conditions obtaining in this country and at the present stage of our country's development, it is impossible for the Moslem community to commit themselves to any particular form of self-government or Home Rule as the ultimate constitutional goal for India. It is our sincere conviction that no cut-and-dried scheme of self-government found successful in other parts of the Empire, under political conditions vastly different from those obtaining in this country, can be safely grafted into our system of government."

St. Francis Xavier

In the *International Review of Missions*, (April 1918) Dr. N. Macnicol writes a very good review of the life of St. Francis Xavier, Evangelist, Explorer and Mystic. To the Protestant St. Xavier is little more than a dim name; but he is a possession of the Church Catholic. St. Xavier though a Jesuit, is not dehumanised and harsh and Roman as every Jesuit is in the eyes of the Protestant. He was the greatest of Loyola's disciples but was the least of Jesuits. St. Francis was like a *whirlwind of love*; no danger could daunt his indomitable spirit and he was full of the pure passion of love to Christ. As he hastened from land to land, India, Ceylon, Muluccas, Japan, dying at last in the threshold of China, the flame within his breast burning but unconsumed, is the same that St. Paul too carried to Ephesus, Athens and to Rome. St. Francis has been censured for instability in spending so little time in one place and ever coveting new worlds for conquest. He was only a breaker-up of the ways, a pioneer, a path finder, a venturer upon the unknown that other and lesser people might follow. St. Francis had by nature the joyous heart of the adventurer; he was no sombre gloomy Spaniard; he loved laughter and had a peculiar affection for little children. He was indeed a great lover of Christ, worthy of a place besides St. Bernard and St. Francis of Assisi. His life has a value and interest for missionary students, in setting before them some of the problems of Evangelism and warning them to avoid shortcuts to their solution. He laments over the scandals of the Portuguese in Goa and other places, of their perfidy and injustice and of their frequent resort to violent methods. He used often to say that nothing is achieved by violence and the only force to use is the force of love and charity. "His life was one steady crescendo of love and devotion to his neighbour and his God. . . . All the superb possibilities—social, intellectual, political, ecclesiastical, for which his genius had held the key, he was content to see now, hid with Christ in God: hid there, too, the still dearer and more intimate treasures of family life and love, which few indeed dare willingly forego for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake. For a man so eager, so ardent, so miraculously sympathetic and tender as Francis, this last sacrifice, of which he never spoke or wrote, is perhaps the fullest witness of all to the largeness and simplicity of his faith."

The Present Situation in India

As usual, a writer of the Curtis school of politics, contributing to the current number of the *Round Table*, supplies us with a tirade on the past political record of India and its present situation. For instance the last year Hindu-Mahomedan riots in Bihar is supposed to show the racial and religious bitterness which still subsists and the sharp divorce between the ignorant masses of the people and their leaders. The Congress has now developed into a close political league, organised and disciplined on the same principles as the Labour Party in Australia. The outcome of this would be a very narrow channel for the expression of Indian nationhood, the suppression of powerful minorities and the creation of a new oligarchy. The Home Rule movement is represented as being no longer limited to the intellectuals, as having extended to the middle classes and being likely to affect the mass of the cultivators also, and as always creating practical difficulties for Government officers, as importing political unrest into rural districts and investing political propaganda with a religious sanction. "In the absence of any body of moderate Indian opinion trained to appreciate and to defend the elementary necessities of orderly government, the officials are the only people who would be competent to conduct a counter propaganda, and they are, under the present system compelled to preserve silence."

As a result of the Morley-Minto Reforms, agitation became less violent, and there occurred fewer outrages; but unrest has assumed a much subtler form and has spread deeper and more widely. Administration has become exceedingly difficult, racial feeling has grown in intensity and the legend of an oppressive bureaucracy was invented and run to death, and officials were exposed to vehement and irresponsible abuse in the press and in private discussion; and there was portrayed an unholy alliance, as it were, between British officialdom in India and German tyranny, pitted against British democracy and Indian Home Rule. The Government of India appeared to have no policy at all; and seemed to be merely drifting, alternating hesitant concessions with ill-timed exhibitions of so-called firmness. The Indian felt that his claims were being ignored; the British official felt that he was in danger of being sacrificed. Such constructive policy, as there has been, has been carried out piecemeal and there was a lack of unity and

cohesion, and indeed of political principle in the concessions that were made. Concessions were not so much needed as a form of Government which would enable British professions to be properly worked out.

The Indian Government has failed politically by attempting to rule without defining and declaring the ultimate ends to which it is looking. The educated Indian is ceasing to trust it, the reason being that the system, however admirable as a piece of mechanism, is driven by a motive power and guided by hands that are not Indian. The only possible remedy has been applied by Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford, and the goal of policy has now been proclaimed.

Lessons in Political Wisdom

In the course of an article in a recent issue of the *Modern Review* Sir Rabindranath Tagore discusses the problem of how we are to receive our lessons in political wisdom "discreetly gradual." The poet and philosopher indulges in plain speaking in the following passages:

It is not the best ideals of a people that govern a foreign country. The unnaturalness of the situation stands in the way, and everything tending to encourage the baser passions of man—the contemptuous pride of power, the greed of acquisition, comes uppermost. The responsibility of the weak is tremendous. They keep themselves too obscure to be able to claim human consideration, and the conscience of the strong grows inactive for want of proper stimulus. It is sure to cause moral degeneracy in men to exercise habitually authority upon an alien people and therefore not to encounter the checks that arise from the relationship of natural sympathy. That is evident to us, not only in the callous arrogance of the bureaucracy, but also in the policy of most of the Anglo-Indian newspapers, whose consistent chorus of clamour against the least expression of Indian aspiration, or the possibility of our gaining the slightest privilege now held by the rulers, becomes vituperatively cruel. It creates a vicious circle—the helplessness of the governed sapping the moral manhood of the governors, and that again reacting upon the governed, prolonging and deepening their helplessness. This is the reason why most of our countrymen find small consolation when they are told that the rights and the power of the Government of their country will come to them gradually, as they are being made fit, from the hands which hold that power now. The gift is to be cautiously doled out to us by somebody who is critic, judge and donor combined—and, naturally, not an over-enthusiastic donor. If we could be certain of a genuinely sympathetic guidance we would be content with very little at the commencement. But not having that full confidence in the bureaucratic agency of our donors, our people at the very outset claim those powers which, consciously or unconsciously, may be set against them in making it impossible for them to prove their fitness. No one can pretend to say that the British Government in India has been or ever can be disinterested.

A Policy for Turkey

H. N. Brailsford, writing in a recent number of the *Contemporary Review*, explains the Turkish situation and the chief solutions that are put forward for it. Mr. Woodrow Wilson says that Turkish problems should be solved by an 'autonomous development' of the various nations included in the Ottoman Empire. The British proposal suggests no interference whatever in the affairs of Northern and Western Turkey, but it insists that Armenia, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia must on no account be restored to the sovereignty of the Turks. Mr. Wilson suggests the more comprehensive reconstruction, and the British the more serious territorial change. Mr. Wilson's 'formula of autonomous development' may not secure the welfare of all the peoples of Turkey, the Arabs of Hejaz for instance have no aspirations for national independence in its western sense. Even in Northern and Western Turkey are many who are Greek, Armenian or Jew and they would not benefit from the autonomous development of that region.

The reason for the comparative failure of earlier attempts at reform is either that they were exotic in their inspiration or local in their range. Turkish reformers slavishly copied the West, and the European concert fastened its attention on the local problems of the Lebanon, Crete, Macedonia and Armenia which it tried to solve by some special autonomous regulation. The defect was that the concert never seemed to be interfering for the good of the Turks as a whole; and it led the Turks to think that an Imperialistic motive lay behind its intervention. All these attempts failed to take account of the traditional structure of society in the Empire. The religious community of the village, whether Christian, Muslim or Jewish, must be given the largest measure of self government and the widest sphere of action; and they are the natural nuclei for further development; they must be given control of education, of the assessment and collection of direct taxation. The unit in such a system would be grouped round a church, mosque or synagogue; sometimes it would be an entire village, sometimes part of a big village or group of villages and sometimes part of a town. Common affairs like roads, irrigation, etc., might be entrusted to governors of provinces and prefects of departments who should be subject to the control of popularly elected councils.

Indian History from a New View

Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, contributes a very thoughtful paper on "Indian History from a New Point of View" to the *Mysore Patriot*. He shows in a very brief compass that an Indian school of historians is springing up which, regarding the past of India as a whole, is tracing out the thread of continuity which runs through it. Indians as well as Europeans are contributing to the construction of this synthetic History of India, in which wars and conquests and dynastic quarrels fall into the background yielding the foreground to the growth and progress of the people.

"This synthetic view of Indian history was foreshadowed at the beginning of the last century by Raja Ram Mohan Roy who founded his Brahmo Samaj on the basis of such a synthesis. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was one of the first Indian scholars to take up the work, though unfortunately his varied interests and activities did not permit him to make a solid contribution to our historical literature. At present, the Indian scholars, who are engaged in this form of historical research, are mostly to be found in Bengal and to a less extent in Madras.

"The late Mr. R. C. Dutt was the first Indian writer to attempt an Indian history from the Indian view point. His history was confined to the Hindu period, but even within that limited compass he showed how Indian history ought to be written."

This essential unity of India has been thoroughly grounded in the social and religious history of this country as is evident from many a Vedic Mantra and ritual, and it needs but a true sympathetic mind to interpret the fundamental continuity of Indian polity. While on this subject the writer cites a happy parallel between the British colonial policy and the policy of Hindu social and religious polity:

"Foreigners often complain that it is impossible to define Hinduism, but is it any more possible to define the British Empire? The Hindu religion and social system rests on the principle of communal, as the British Empire rests on that of colonial, autonomy. And what is the result? The Hindu religion, like the British Empire, is not powerful for purposes of aggression. But whenever either of them has been threatened from outside they have always proved their capacity for effective self-defence."

And such an organisation is the growth of centuries of social and religious work long, long before the advent of the British.

International Interference in Africa

Sir H. H. Johnstone contributes an interesting paper to the *Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law* (for April 1918) on the several important features in the history of the European occupation of Africa. Portugal, the *doyen* of pioneering nations and the first Christian state to discover the geography of tropical Africa was the first to enter into relations of commerce and rule with the Negro peoples. The slave trade of the 17th and 18th centuries enhanced the value of Negro Africa in the eyes of European powers; and the beginning of the 19th century saw Holland displaced as a ruling power in South Africa by the British. Soon British, Dutch and German explorers began to explore the inner Africa; while France, after 1871, created a vast W. African Empire, which was reserved entirely for exploitation by French merchants and industrials only. Germany also soon began to try the principle of Internationalism in opening up tropical Africa.

King Leopold of Belgium began with the idea of founding a great international state in the basin of the Congo, but his International Association soon split up into national committees, the better to carry out purely national ambitions. The Berlin Conference of 1884 was attended by all the powers of Europe, and it provided for the complete freedom of the navigation of the Congo and the Niger, complete freedom of trade throughout the Congo basin and complete freedom of religion. There followed, however, an orgy of jealous nationalism. France came to terms with King Leopold and got a vast protectionist empire stretching from Tunis and Algeria to Senegal, the Ivory Coast, etc. Great Britain, by means of chartered companies, direct annexations and proclamations of protectorates, became an African power of equal magnitude with France. Portugal gained much by the definition of her rights and Leopold turned his internationalised territory of the Congo basin into a Belgian possession. Italy developed the commerce of the Red Sea coastlands and Somaliland, and the British dropped free trade and adopted differential treatment in their Central African possessions. In spite of these, for 20 years, slavery was put an end to, internecine wars between tribe and tribe were stopped, the mineral and vegetable wealth of the country tapped, and generally Negro and Negroid interests were protected.

But in 1904 things were seen to be very bad. The abuses of Leopoldian rule in Congoland and the imitation of Belgian methods in French Congo, British Nigeria, East Africa and Uganda threatened to produce a widespread Negro rising against the white man—a rebellion which, helped by the climate and germ diseases would chase white enterprise from Negro Africa eventually; and a fellow-feeling, a unity of thought, expression and purpose was spreading over all Central Africa.

The reform of the Leopoldian regime led to a betterment of French, British and Italian attitude towards the Negro; the national consciences of these people became more sensitive on questions of right and wrong and realised that the Negro was the ward and not the serf of Europe. The powers, on the eve of the present war, were largely inclined to concert plans for the betterment of Africa by international co-operation in matters like common action against germ diseases, protection of valuable and interesting fauna and flora, exchange of meteorological observations, linking up of railways, joining in works of river-navigation, etc. There may advantageously be formed an International Council which would express world-opinion on African affairs and work steadily for the fair treatment of all races, etc. This Council might be associated with a great bureau of international inquiry—both might insist that Africa, the great treasure-house of food and power, shall not be used selfishly by any single nation or group of nations.

INDIA IN INDIAN & FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

GREEK INFLUENCE ON HINDU MATHEMATICS. By G. R. Kaye. ["East and West," July 1918.]

HOMES OF HOPE FOR HINDU WOMEN. By Mannu Subedar, B.A., B.Sc. ["The Social Service Quarterly."] "

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI. By Akshaykumar Maitra, B.L. ["The Modern Review," August 1918.] "

THE HISTORY OF A VILLAGE PANCHAYET By Mr. E. V. Sundara Reddy, M.A., (Hons.) ["Everymans Review," August 1918.]

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT. By Mr. Gilbert Slater, M.A., D.Sc. ["The Madras Christian College Magazine," June 1918.]

Rowlett Committee's Recommendations.

The Report of the Sedition Committee, 1918, under Mr. Justice Rowlett is published in Blue Book-form. It describes at length the conspiracies that have occurred over a number of years in different parts of India and makes detailed proposals. The following are extracts :—

• We have been forced to the conclusion that it is necessary, in order to keep the conspiracies already described under control in the future, to provide for the continuance after the expiry of the Defence of India Act (though in the contingent form explained and under important limitations) of some of the powers which that measure introduced in a temporary form. By these means alone has the conspiracy been paralysed for the present, and we are unable to devise any expedient operating according to strict judicial forms which can be relied upon to prevent its reviving, to check it if it does revive, or, in the last resort, to suppress it anew. This will involve some infringement of the rules normally safeguarding the liberty of the subject. We have endeavoured to make that infringement as small as we think possible consistently with the production of an effective scheme.

The possibilities to be provided for range from incipient sedition to incipient anarchy.

We think, as we have already indicated, that the powers to be acquired should be of two grades capable of being called into operation separately, possibly under different forms of notification. The first group of powers should be of the following nature :—

- (1) to demand security with or without sureties ;
- (2) to restrict residence or to require notification of change of residence ;
- (3) to require abstention from certain acts, such as engaging in journalism, distributing leaflets or attending meetings ;
- (4) to require that the person should periodically report to the police.

The second group of powers should be :—

- (1) to arrest ;
- (2) to search under warrant ;
- (3) to confine in non-penal custody.

An "investigating authority" or "authorities" should be constituted, as to which we shall say more later on. If the first group of powers only is in force, the Government before making a final order should be required to refer the case to the

investigating authority. "They should, however, have power to make an interim order for a limited time. If the second group is in force, the person might be arrested and kept in custody for a time to be limited before the reference and thereafter pending the reference.

The duty of the investigating authority will be to inquire *in camera* upon any materials which they may think fit and without being bound by rules of evidence. They would send for the person and tell him what is alleged against him and investigate the matter as fairly and adequately as possible in the manner of a domestic tribunal. It would not be necessary to disclose the sources of information, if that would be objectionable from the point of view of other persons. No advocates would be allowed on either side or witnesses formally examined, nor need the person whose case is under investigation be present during all the enquiry. Should such persons indicate that other persons or any other inquiries may throw light on the matter from his point of view, the investigating authority would endeavour to test the suggestion if it seems relevant and reasonable." At the close of the inquiry the investigating authority would certify their conclusion to the local Government.

In the matter of the scope of the investigation the Committee suggest the following solution. Let the Government propound to the Committee in plain language what they suggest that the man has done or is doing or is likely to do, and let the authority return in plain language what they find upon the subject. Then let the Government recite that finding in its order and proceed to deal with the man as it thinks necessary.

We suggest one more provision to be made in this scheme of preventive measures. We think there should be Visiting Committees to report upon the condition of persons restricted in residence or in custody. We do not go into the question of the composition of these Committees. This may well vary in different parts of India and possibly in different parts of the same province or with reference to different communities. We were much struck by the useful work of this kind that can be done by Committees working in very small areas in the Punjab. Machinery so satisfactory may not be possible elsewhere. The Committees appointed must, of course, be persons who are prepared to accept the scheme and work it effectually though sympathetically.

UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

Mr. Montagu on the Report

In a speech that Mr. Montagu delivered to his constituency, Cambridgeshire, he took occasion to speak on Indian Reforms and in the course of his speech referred to the principles that must govern the constitution of the British Empire. He asked in one place in his address "How much more could India do for us and for herself now, had her industries only been developed in the past?" Mr. Montagu said:

Let us have it out once for all what was to be the principle of our Government in India. Was it to be domination, or subordination to the iron hand? Were we to have one principle of Government for India and another principle for the rest of the Empire? How had we built up South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand? Was not the principle of the British Empire the principle of a Commonwealth of Free Nations? Were we not to extend it to India? Was the ideal of our Empire only geographical, not moral? What if we said that to our American Allies? What if when we talked of the British ideal of self-governing institutions, we drew the line somewhere in the Indian Ocean and said: "Thus far and no further?" That sort of theory was utterly impossible, utterly out of harmony with the British ideas.

He referred to democratic institutions in the East and remarked with truth:

"There were people who said that democratic institutions were impossible in the East and they pointed to Russia and Persia. They did not often point to Japan."

Reverting to the subject once again in the House of Commons on August 6, during the Debate on the Indian Budget, Mr. Montagu said:—

The principles of the Reform recommended therein were the logical and inevitable outcome of British Rule in India.

Detailing the proposals, Mr. Montagu said: The proposal that the salary of the Secretary of State should be borne in the estimates of the Commons was made simply in order that the Secretary of State's control of Indian affairs which could only be exercised in the name of the Commons should be brought into a proper relation to the Commons. And he was now not talking of financial unfairness whereby the Indian tax-payer was saddled with the cost of his salary, and the proposal if adopted would give greater reality to the Indian Debates in the Commons.

Mr. Montagu pleaded for the acceptance of the proposals, to appoint a Select Committee of the Commons on India affairs, because India would gain by a real, sustained, up to date, Parliamentary interest and the Parliament would be able, with less effort, to devote itself to its great Indian responsibilities. He scouted the suggestion that this would bring India into the party affairs and nothing was more likely to keep India out of party affairs than such a Committee drawn from all parties.

Continuing, Mr. Montagu emphasised: As responsible Government opens in India the control from Home must be relaxed and there was no reason to fear that the British Empire had been built up by the control from Home being replaced by the control of the people of the country themselves. British connection has been strengthened, not weakened thereby.

He suggested that a Committee of the Commons should consider how much control from Home should be relaxed.

Dealing with the proposals regarding the Raj itself, Mr. Montagu said: The advantage of the machinery proposed seemed to him to be that it made the Legislative Council far more representative than at present, and ensure representative criticism in Delhi and Simla, and it could be easily developed from time to time into an ordinary legislative machinery as soon as the Commons were ready to give up its control over the Indian Legislature. It had another advantage. If the suggested devolution from the Raj to the Provincial Governments were carried out the function left to the Raj would be those things, such as customs, defence and foreign policy, which were not concerned with British India alone. The proposed germ of the Second Chamber would indicate the road along which, in due course and when they wished to share these great Imperial purposes, the Princes of India, who were now rather isolated in the constitution, might join the Upper House in deliberating common affairs.

Referring to the Provinces Mr. Montagu said: He little doubted that the transference of the subjects would proceed faster than many supposed. Mr. Montagu specially drew attention to the provision for a periodical review of the working of the whole scheme by a tribunal appointed by the Commons. He said that Lord Chelmsford and himself attached great importance to this. The knowledge that this review was destined to come at stated intervals would make for the smooth working of the machine. The officials and non-officials, Englishmen and Indians would know that they could take their grievances to the Parliament itself at stated intervals. He believed that this necessarily could only work if we had this periodical review.

After inviting the criticism of the machinery, he proposed to enable the Indian Ministers and the Executive Councils to discharge their respective responsibilities. Mr. Montagu proceeded to deprecate stigmatising the defect of any section of the Indian people. He paid a high tribute to the patriotism of the Indians which was slowly becoming national.

Alluding to those demanding Responsible Government immediately, he emphasised that the limitations of the Scheme were due not to a distrust or fear but to facts and time. It was useless to expect Parliament which was equally proud of India to give up the control of Indian affairs to a non-existent Indian electorate. It was impossible to pretend that the obstacles to democratic process, such as illiteracy, caste distinctions and communal antagonism, did not exist, but the true friends of India hoped and believed that they would tend to disappear with the development of free institutions. The reasons for the limitations would disappear with them and India would be entitled to claim from Parliament that the limitations should be swept away. But an Indian electorate must first be created, trained and exercised. Nobody had a right to reject the proposals because they did not give him to-day what he could only get to-morrow. The Indians were entitled to ask that they should be placed upon the road and have access to the Parliament at stated intervals for the hearing of their case. It seemed to him that there was no other course.

Native States in the New Scheme

The *Servant of India* writes :—

"The recommendations of the report as regards Native States have our general support. The ruling Princes will find their important demands conceded and their relations with superior authority placed on a basis more consistent than before with their self-respect. What directly concerns us in British India is a proposal that whenever matters of common interest such as coinage, defence and indirect taxation are under consideration, the Council of Princes and the Council of State or the representatives of each may sit jointly and confer together. Alarmists may see in such an arrangement the possibility of mutual interference; but the arrangement seems to us to be required by the canons of justice and it should not be beyond the wit of the authorities to avoid the evil results apprehended. We likewise heartily endorse the hope expressed in the report that the Princes and peoples of the States will come under the liberalising influences of the new regime in British India. It would be wrong to stimulate this process by any artificial means."

A Maharaja at the Front

Reuter's correspondent at British Headquarters says that the Maharaja of Patiala has just concluded a short visit to the British front in France accompanied by Lt. Col. Sirdar Jogendra Singh and Major-Sirdar Baswant Singh, as Aide-de-camp, and Col. Audain of the War Office. The Maharaja spent a busy time and expressed a great satisfaction and interest in all he saw. He lunched with Sir Douglas Haig and General Sir S. S. Horne and also visited and spent a night with his old friend General Birdwood. With General Jacob he made a tour to the front, including a special pilgrimage to the spot where his troops fought so finely in 1914. The Maharaja of Patiala was particularly interested in the veterinary hospitals and frequently expressed his admiration for our artillery, especially the big Howitzer batteries.

The Bharatpur Battalion

The Bharatpur Durbar have offered their Imperial Service Infantry as the nucleus for a battalion of regular troops to be raised and located in Bharatpur for the duration of the war and have agreed to contribute a large sum towards the upkeep of the battalion. The offer has been gratefully accepted.

Dyes and Tans from Mysore

In the review of the foreign rail-borne trade of the Mysore State which has just been issued for the year 1916-17, we find that the export trade in dyes and tans is 299,000 maunds, valued at 17.69 lakhs of rupees as against 210,000 mds., valued at 10.52 lakhs of rupees in 1915-16. This is due to the extraordinary prices obtained for tanning bark consequent on the large profits made in skin and hide tanning before the industry was controlled by Government. The price of tangudi bark rose from Rs. 4-11 0 to Rs. 8-7-0 per maund during the year, leading to a more careful exploitation of the forests by the bark contractors, and an increase in the exports of bark from 188,000 maunds, valued at 8.34 lakhs of rupees, to 252,000 maunds, valued at 15.32 lakhs of rupees. There was also an increase of a lakh of rupees in the value of the exports of myrabolams which rose from 20,500 maunds to 42,700 maunds owing to a record crop obtained during the year.

Nawab of Maler Kotla's Offer

His Highness the Nawab of Maler Kotla has offered to His Imperial Majesty the King on the occasion of Their Majesties' silver wedding Rs. 5,000 as an endowment for the benefit of children of Indian soldiers who have fallen in the war. The offer has been graciously accepted by His Majesty.

The Viceroy at Indore

Lord Chelmsford in the course of his tour in Central India performed the opening ceremony of the new Shivaji Rao Holkar High School, Indore. In doing so His Excellency urged the primary importance of the proper training of teachers, without which, he said, all expenditure on fine buildings or the attendance of any number of children in the schools would be vain effort for the improvement of education.

Recruits from Feudatory States

The Feudatory States in direct relation with the Government of India contributed over 21,000 recruits (including those for Imperial Service troops and non-combatant corps) in the first half of the current year. Of this total Kashmir raised close upon 6,000; Alwar, Jaipur and Hyderabad nearly 3,000 each; Jodhpur and Bharatpur about 1,500 a piece; Bikaner and Gwalior nearly 1,000 each, while Mysore, Tonk and Kotah supplied smaller quotas.

INDIANS OUTSIDE INDIA

Sorabji Shapurji of South Africa

Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes to the *Times of India*:—One of the best of Indians has just passed away in Johannesburg in the person of Sorabji Shapurji of Adajan, near Surat, at the age of thirty-five, and it is my mournful duty to pay a humble tribute to a fellow-worker. Mr. Sorabji, though known to a select company of friends, was unknown to the Indian public. His work lay in South Africa. He was a prince among passive resisters. He joined their ranks when the struggle in South Africa was at its height and when it had travelled beyond the confines of the Transvaal. When he joined the struggle, I must confess I had my doubts about his ability to go through with it, but he soon made his mark as a front rank Satyagrahi. Neither he nor I ever expected that he would have to undergo a series of imprisonments amounting in all to over eighteen months with hard labour, but he went through it manfully and cheerfully. Mr. Sorabji was a small trader when he took to public life in South Africa. He had a high school education. But such as it was he made the most effective use of it in the Transvaal. During the struggle he showed a steadfastness of purpose, probity of character, coolness of temper, courage in the midst of adverse circumstances such as the best of us do not often show. There were occasions when the stoutest hearts might have broken, Sorabji never wavered.

India in Imperial War Conference

His Excellency the Viceroy has received a long telegram from the Secretary of State giving particulars of the recent meeting of the Imperial War Conference. The following is an extract: The fifteenth meeting of the Conference was held on July 25th. The first subject discussed was reciprocity of treatment between India and the Dominions. This discussion followed on the resolution passed by the Conference last year, accepting the principle of reciprocity and a further resolution passed that effect should now be given to the last year's resolution in pursuance of which the Conference agreed as follows:—(1) It is the inherent function of the Governments of several communities of British Commonwealth including India that each should enjoy complete control in the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any other communities. (2) British citizens domiciled in any

British country including India should be admitted into any other British country for visits for the purposes of pleasure or commerce including temporary residency for the purpose of education. The conditions of such visits should be regulated on the principle of reciprocity as follows:—(a) The right of the Government of India recognised to enact laws which shall have the effect of subjecting British citizens domiciled in any other British country to the same conditions in visiting India as those imposed on Indians desiring to visit such country. (b) Such right of visit or temporary residence shall in each individual case be embodied in the passport or written permit issued by the country of domicile and subject to vie thereby an officer appointed by and acting on behalf of the country to be visited. If such a country so desires such right shall not extend to the visit or temporary residence for labour purpose or to permanent settlement. (3) Indians already permanently domiciled in other British countries should be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being the lawful wife or child of such Indian. The Conference recommends other questions covered by the memoranda presented this year and last year to the Conference by the representatives of India in so far as not dealt with in the foregoing paragraphs. This resolution has been forwarded to the various Governments concerned with a view to early consideration. A criticism on this Resolution from the pen of Mr. Gandhi appears in another page.

Indian Women in Fiji

Private intimation has been received that various women's organisations in Australia representing the most powerful interests in that country, who have been deeply stirred by the condition of Indian women in the Fiji, have combined together and sent at their own expense, and as their representative, Miss Garnlan who is or furrough from India to Fiji. She will spend some months in seeing what practical steps can be taken to ameliorate the situation which has arisen owing to the disproportion of women to men under the indenture system. The Fiji Government has given orders that facilities are to be given her while carrying on her work.

INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL SECTION 605

Fiscal Reform

The Hon. Sir Fazulbhoj Currimbhoy, writing on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, says:—

As a business man I am glad that the authors of the Report record that "the conviction has been forced upon us that the economic factor enters largely into the political situation in India," and that "on all grounds a forward policy in industrial development is urgently called for." The Report of the Industrial Commission will be shortly before the public and it is to be hoped that in view of this emphatic opinion expressed in the Report under review, very satisfactory results could be looked for if steps are taken to give immediate effect to the recommendations. Nor is it possible to conceal our disappointment at the omission of a definite pronouncement with regard to the question of fiscal autonomy. The Report has indicated a very strong feeling which exists in India on this matter and have admitted that some action in this direction is inevitable. While the country will welcome the freedom from detailed control by the Secretary of State which the Government of India will receive under this scheme, such freedom will not have much meaning if it does not also embrace the question of tariff policy. Consistent with Imperial interests, it should be possible to formulate a scheme of scientific tariffs dictated by the interests of India. I cannot help thinking that if a radical change of policy had been outlined in regard to fiscal matters, the disappointment of the public at certain features of the scheme in the reform should not have been so keenly felt.

Co-operation in Bombay

As the result of a recent meeting of the prominent co-operative workers of this Presidency a new co-operative enterprise named the Central Co-operative Institute of the Bombay Presidency has been just started. It was explained by the Registrar of Co-operative Societies that the Institute was not to exercise control over individual societies, but to serve as a centre for propagandist and educational activities of every sort. Separate federations would shortly be formed for supervising and controlling agricultural societies. They would require much help in propagandist work, and it was hoped that the Institute would be able to work through them. The new enterprise is expected to give an opportunity for independent work to non-official co-operators. The general scope of the Institute was unanimously approved, and it was stated that several Native States in the Presidency had promised cordial support.

The Unemployed after War

Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the Local Government Board, speaking at the Industrial Council, did not anticipate any unemployment trouble for many years after the war. He aimed at building at least 300,000 workmen's dwellings within a year of the declaration of peace.

India's Industrial Development

Sir Louis Dane's letter in the *Times*, supporting Lord Montagu of Beauleiu regarding the importance of industrial developments in India, emphasises what is being done in the Punjab towards utilising the power of the great rivers. He says:—The difficulty has been to find a market for the power owing to the absence of great industries but much can be achieved if capitalists are treated more sympathetically and pioneers are allowed profit such as they get elsewhere and if they are not throttled down by the financial authorities. Something, he says, also might be done to reduce wearisome delays caused by various authorities and governments who must be convinced before any commissions can be obtained. The Provincial Governments may be able to do something if they have a freer hand and more funds. Sir Louis Dane suggests that India should be allowed fully to benefit from the trade balance in her favour from the rise in the value of silver. He points out that India's gain of two million sterling yearly in Home charges owing to the rise in the value of the rupee is a source from which ample funds could be raised after the war for the development of great industries in India.

If such development is the result of Mr. Montagu's policy he has done great things for India.

Co-operation in Native States

The progress of the movement in different provinces varies according to the activity in organisation work as well as the special conditions of each province—the prevailing rates of interest being the most important of these. A few Indian States have also introduced legislation similar to the Co-operative Societies' Act in their territories, and the most prominent of these are Mysore and Baroda. Hyderabad, Gwalior and Indore have recently introduced co-operation in their States.

AGRICULTURAL SECTION

A New Variety of Corn

The Canadian Department of Agriculture, says the *Empire Review*, is endeavouring to develop a variety of corn that will withstand frost and grow at low temperatures. The officials have already achieved considerable results along this line, and if their efforts prove wholly successful, the result will be a considerable increase in the growth of this grain by extending the corn belt. The Government investigators planted a special variety of corn in February of this year and found that plants which were several inches high withstood a drop in temperature on March 5th that froze the ground to a depth of two inches. Of even more importance is the fact that some of the individual plants continued to grow during periods of low temperature when ordinary corn would have been at a standstill. The experiments are still being carried on.

Land Revenue—A Tax or Rent ?

Professor V. G. Kale of the Fergusson College writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*.

From the summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals I find that Taxation for Provincial purposes is both a Provincial and a Transferred subject. The control of the Legislative Council over the provincial budget is subject only, to the power of the Governor in Council to restore the whole or any part of the original allotment for 'Reserved' subjects in case the Council refuses to accept the budget proposals in that behalf. Except in so far as this power is exercised, the budget may be altered so as to give effect to resolutions of the Legislative Council.

This would lead to the conclusion that if the allotments for 'Reserved' subjects proposed in the budget framed by the Government are not touched, the Council will have full liberty to make any alterations it chooses, of course, within the limits laid down for provincial taxation and finance. But here comes in a difficulty. Land Revenue administration is a Provincial subject, but it is not one of those subjects which may be 'Transferred.' It is my impression that land revenue and tenures are subjects which have been specifically excluded from the category of transferable subjects on the ground that they affect the interests of the masses who are not likely to be properly represented in the Councils. The

head "Land Revenue Administration" as it is given in Appendix II, includes assessment and collection of land revenue, and though a provincial subject, it is not a transferred subject. From the purely administrative point of view, some may not regard its exclusion from the list of transferred subjects as of any great importance. But if the old theory that land revenue is a rent and not a tax prevails, as it has prevailed so long, then the Council will have no control over this large and important source of provincial revenue.

If assessment of land revenue is a 'Reserved' department, the power of taxation for provincial purposes is limited to the extent that the Council cannot touch the land-tax, cannot either reduce or enhance it. The report gives the Legislative Councils the power of taxation for provincial purposes with one hand, but with the other, reserves to the executive the assessment of land revenue and cognate subjects. If my fears have any basis, nearly one-half of the total revenue of this Presidency would be cut off with one stroke from the purview of the financial powers of the legislature. At best, the reforms are most adequate, and if assessment of land revenue is to be excluded from the control of the legislature, the financial powers of the Council are at once crippled. Excise is a transferred subject, but land revenue is not. I do not wish here to raise a discussion on the old subject about the theory of land revenue. But my specific question is, will a resolution of the Legislative Council, proposing, say, the reduction of land revenue in certain districts, be given effect to by the executive? And can the legislature deal with land revenue as it may with excise for instance?

Soap-Nut Tree

A writer in the *Ceylon Patriot* observes :—

Not least interesting of the plant importations into the United States is the soap-nut tree, first introduced about 1885, and since 1900 so zealously distributed that half a million of the trees are estimated to be growing in Florida alone. The tree is a native of China, growing about 50 feet high. At the age of six, the trees begin yielding nuts, and the shredded hull of these gives a lather with the cleansing properties of excellent soap, or it may be combined with other materials in soap-making. An extract is useful for producing foam in carbonated beverages.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

607

SHORT NOTICES ONLY APPEAR IN THIS SECTION

The Green Mirror. By Hugh Walpole, Macmillan & Co., London.

"The Green Mirror" comes as a very welcome book to our war weary minds to-day. It is so true a book, so human in its thought and action, and gradually takes our interest and holds it, without unduly stirring our emotions or harrowing our feelings. Its hidden intensity of feeling, its love of family life, of home, and its unquestioning acceptance of tradition are all familiar aspects of English life, and one feels as soon as one is introduced to each character or a scene, a sense of familiarity. There is nothing extravagant in the whole book.

The title is a very apt one, for everyone, with the exception of Katherine, is so intensely self-centred that nothing is ever seen by any member but a reflection of the household and its family life, and it is not until the Mirror, which occupies the central place in the drawing room, is broken by Henry, that we see the hidden fermenting forces of a larger life coming into manifestation. The mother is rather a tragic figure in a stolid self-contained way, and the reader, while condemning her, cannot but feel sorry for her, in her inability to adapt herself to the new order of life that Katherine's lover brings. Katherine herself is very lovingly drawn, her quiet, capable, guiding power is so essentially the attribute of such a woman, that she gives strength and repose to all those whose life comes into intimate touch with her own. She is a good daughter, an ideal sister, a wife, not of romantic fiction to an impossible hero, but of an ordinary man in an everyday world; and one feels how perfect a mother she will make, when after we have said good-bye to her in the book, motherhood comes to her.

War Pamphlets. Oxford University Press, Bombay.

We have received some interesting pamphlets from the Oxford University Press, dealing with different aspects of the War. Some of them like "Blood and Treasure" and "America and the War" have direct bearing on the War and deserve wide popularity alike for their cheapness and lucidity of exposition. Another is a summary of the Montagu-Chelmsford Proposals on Indian Constitutional Reform. We commend this excellent précis of one of the most historic documents of recent times. This pamphlet is given away at the absurd price of one anna a copy.

Twenty Poems. By Rudyard Kipling, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

Readers of Kipling must be familiar with most of these poems as they are culled from one or other of his popular books. Kipling is pre-eminently the poet of the hour and the war (though it cannot be said to have discovered him) has certainly brought him to the front. He richly deserves this wide popularity. His knack of putting the obvious in that "curt, covenanting way" of his makes him an ideal poet for a war-ridden world. And this handsome collection of war songs is yet another tribute to his genius for presenting the popular view of things in general. The songs on the "Trawlers," "Steamers" and the "Machines" are no more than perfect poetical expressions of the views of the man in the street. Indian readers, offended sometimes by his boastful language so common with mediocre imperialists, will yet recognise the tenderness and pathos and the glory of words that make "Ganga Din" almost sublime.

Ripon Readers: The Modern Printing Works, Mount Road, Madras.

We have received from the Modern Printing Works one set of English series of Ripon Readers. —Preliminary, Junior and Senior—designed for the use of the third, fourth and fifth forms and another set of Tamil series for forms I—IV. The three readers in English have been approved by the Directors of Public Instruction, Madras, and the Cochin State, and have also been adopted as text books in several schools in South India. The four Tamil Readers have been edited by Mr. T. Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliar, M.A., Professor of Tamil, Pachaiyappa's College, Madras, and they have also been approved by the Director of Public Instruction, Madras. We have no doubt that these text books will be very useful to school boys.

Indian Literary Year Book & Author's Who's Who, 1918. Edited by N. Mitra, Panini Office, Allahabad.

This year's issue of the Year Book is a considerable improvement on the preceding issues. The authors' directory has been brought up-to-date. The reprints of the several acts dealing with the Press, and copyright laws are very useful features of the book.

DIARY OF THE MONTH

- July 23. Fighting in Albania. Allied advance. The British fleet inspected by the King.
- July 24. General Smut's speech in London on the military situation.
Italian and British naval activity in the Adriatic.
- July 25. The Hon. Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad declines presidentship of the Special Congress. Mr. Montagu's tribute to Lord Morley at the National Liberal Club.
- July 26. Debate in the House of Lords on Commissions for Indians in the Army.
- July 27. H. E. the Viceroy has received a statement from the Secretary of State on Emigration after the War.
Mr. Montagu's speech at the Cambridge Liberal Association.
- July 28. Meeting of the Special Punjab Provincial Conference.
- July 29. Meeting of the Ladies' Branch of the Home Rule League at Ahmedabad.
- July 30. Continued German retreat.
Sir E. Gedde's statement on the failure of German submarinism.
British air raid in Germany.
- July 31. Attacks on Pola harbour.
Mr. Basu had an audience with H. M. the King.
Sir S. P. Sinha has been called to the Bar.
- August 1. Successful British raid in the neighbourhood of Lens.
Fighting on the American front.
- August 2. Assassination of Von Eichhorn. Japanese intervention in Russia.
Unrest in Bulgaria.
- August 3. Madras Special Provincial Conference was held with Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar in the chair.
- August 4. Anniversary of the War.
Premier's message to the Empire.
- August 5. Meeting of the Reception Committee of the Special Congress at Bombay elects Sir Dinshaw Petit as Chairman.
- August 6. Civil war in Russia.
Imperial Conference Resolution on India and the Dominions.
- August 7. General Foch has been made Marshal of France and General Petain has been awarded the military medal.
- August 8. Mr. Gandhi addressed a meeting of the Surat branch of the Home Rule League. Mr. Hasan Imam has been elected President at the Special Congress.
- August 9. In a letter to the press Sir Dinshaw Wacha intimates that a Separate Conference of All-India Moderates should be convened.
- August 10. Leading Moderates of Nagpur have sent a message to the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Akola Special Conference deprecating the policy of the rejectionists.
- August 11. The U. P. Provincial Conference met at Lucknow with Mr. Preonath Banerji in the chair.
- August 12. Allies' stand on the old Somme line. Capture of enemy prisoners and guns.
- August 13. The formation of the first American Army in France is officially announced.
- August 14. The German debacle. King George at the Front. State Banquet to H. E. the Viceroy at Dhar.
- August 15. A Conference of Registrars of Co-operative Societies was held this morning at Simla.
- August 16. An important preliminary meeting of Moderates was held to-day at the Indian Association at Calcutta.
- August 17. Austria's demand for peace. German collapse in the west. British soldiers' experience of German prison.
- August 18. The Raja of Bilaspur is attached to the 41st Dogras, with the honorary rank of Captain.
- August 19. A Conference of the Directors of Civil Supplies was held at Nagpur, the Hon. Sir Claude Hill presiding.
- August 20. In a letter to the *Leader* Pundit Malaviya urges Moderates to attend the Special Congress and appeals to the advanced party to be guided by the wisdom of the older men.
- August 21. At an influential meeting held at Bombay Sir D. E. Wacha was elected Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Moderate Conference and Babu Surendranath Banerjee President.

Literary

LORD MORLEY ON JOURNALISM

Lord Morley writes in his "Recollections":—

Journalism is a profession with drawbacks of its own. It is precarious in a sense that does not affect the lawyer, the school master, the doctor, the clerk in holy orders, the soldier or the sailor. For the writer routine does nothing: the more it does for him, to be sure, the worse for his writing. Incidents of human life that in other works are only interruptions, to him may be ruin. If his knack, whatever it amounts to, should cease to please, he starves; if his little capital of ideas wears itself out, he is dispatched as monotonous and tiresome; if the journal to which he is attached changes hands or changes principles or expires, he too may expire. I say nothing of the temptation lurking in these irregularities for men of defective quality to ill starred Bohemian ways, that waste priceless time, impoverish character, and as often as not spread long trails of overhanging cloud through life.

THE "SEARCHLIGHT."

The "Searchlight," a semi-weekly journal, was started at Patna in the middle of last month. It declared its policy to be to foster loyalty to the King-Emperor, the growth, development, and expansion of Indian Nationalism, as opposed to sectarianism and communalism, and the advocacy of Responsible Government for India. Amongst 14 directors, these are the names of Mazhar-ul-Huq, Hasan Inam, and Sichehlananda Sinha. The paper has been called upon to furnish a security of Rs. 500 which has been deposited.

INDIAN EDITORS INVITED

At the invitation of the Ministry of Information five Editors of newspapers in India are proceeding to England as guests of the Ministry for a tour of four weeks in England and the Western Front. The Government of India have accordingly made arrangements to enable the following gentlemen to leave India almost immediately: Mr. J. A. Sandbrook, Editor, the *Englishman*, Calcutta; Mr. Hemendra Prasad Ghose, Editor, the *Basumati*, Calcutta; Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar, Editor, the *Hindu*, Madras; Mr. Gopal Krishna Desai, Editor, the *Gyan Prakash*, Poona; and Mr. Mahbub Alam, Editor, the *Paisa Akhbar*, Lahore. It may be remembered that Mr. Sandbrook, Mr. H. P. Ghose and Mr. Mahbub Alam were among the Press Deputation to Mesopotamia last year.

BOOKS RECEIVED

THE FREE PRESS. By Hilaire Belloc, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London.

OCCASIONAL ADDRESS 1893-1916. By Rt. Hon. H. H. Asquith, Macmillan & Co., London.

THE PLAY-WORK BOOK. By Ann Macbeth, Methuen & Co., Ltd., London.

HOW TO SETTLE THE IRISH QUESTION. By Bernard Shaw, Constable & Company, London.

A YEAR'S LESSONS FOR CHRISTIAN WOMEN IN THE VILLAGES. By Miss J. W. Inglis, M.A., PASSION STUDIES. By L. P. Larsen; BIBLE STUDIES IN EVANGELISM; TELUGU FIFTH BOOK; The C.L.S.I., Madras.

RECORDS OF THE GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. XLVIII Part 3, 1917. Office of the Geological Survey of India, Calcutta.

THOUGHTS ON "AT THE FEET OF THE MASTER." By G. S. Arundale, Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

THE PRASNOPANISHAT Text and Translation. By A. Nilakanta Sastri, B. C. E., Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar.

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY—1912-13 1916-17—and supplement. Govt. Central Press, Bombay.

HISTORY OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BERAR. • By J. N. S. B.A., B.L., Seoni, C. P.

REVIEW OF THE FOREIGN RAIL-BORNE TRADE OF THE MYSORE STATE. By C. Ranganatha Rao Sahib, B.A., B.L., Deputy Director of Commerce and Statistics, Bangalore.

A NOTE ON COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY: Published by A. V. Thekkar, Servants of India Society's Buildings, Bombay. •

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF AGRICULTURE IN INDIA. Government Printing, Calcutta.

SOME SAKA DATES IN INSCRIPTIONS. By A. Venkatasubbiah: N. Subramaniam & Co., Chamaraja Mohalla, Mysore.

RAILWAYS IN INDIA: ADMINISTRATION REPORT FOR 1916-17, VOL. I. & II. Government Central Press, Simla.

A MODEL UNIVERSITY. By John M'Bhaktul, B.A., L.T., Methodist Publishing House, Madras.

Educational

EDUCATION IN INDIA

In a paragraph on Education in India in war-time, the Director of Statistics says:—"It is sometimes thought in regard to Indian education that, owing to the strain of the last few years, the stokers have everywhere been stinting their fuel in the furnaces, and the engines have not been going at more than a snail's pace. The statistics show that such a view is no part of a concrete educational policy." He proves this diagrammatically in regard to the expenditure on education and the number of pupils in schools. Ten years ago, counting from 1916-17, the total expenditure on education was Rs. 560 lakhs, five years later it had risen to Rs. 788 lakhs; in the pre-war year it was Rs. 1,005 lakhs and in 1916-17 it was Rs. 1,125 lakhs. For the same periods the number of pupils in schools and Colleges were 5,400,000; five years later the numbers had risen to 6,796,000; in the pre-war year there were 7,586,000 and in 1916-17 the numbers had risen to 7,852,000. Other statistical tables show similar progress. In looking through them we find full confirmation of an oft-repeated assertion that in the matter of education Madras takes a very high place among the provinces, Bengal being first. The table giving the number of pupils under instruction in such province shows that Bengal and Madras have almost 46 per cent. of the total number of scholars.

DIPLOMA IN SPOKEN ENGLISH

The Calcutta University Senate has passed a resolution inserting a new chapter in the University regulations providing for the establishment of a diploma in spoken English. The chapter contains the following provisions: That the examination for diploma in spoken English shall be held annually in Calcutta; that every candidate for diploma must have passed one of the following examinations of this University: Master of Arts, Master of Science, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Science, Bachelor of Teaching and Licentiate in Teaching; that every candidate for diploma shall produce a certificate that he has received training in elocution for a period of not less than one year under a teacher recognised for this purpose by the Board of Higher Studies in English, and that the examination shall be written and oral.

FREEDOM IN SCHOOLS.

In the current number of the *Mysore Economic Journal* Dr. Sadler writes:—

Well-organised and useful as they have been in the past, the English elementary schools lack originality. They need more freedom—even freedom to make mistakes, freedom to get a more independent life. A school, if it is to do its utmost in forming character, needs to have a character, an individuality, of its own. . . . To make the head teachers of elementary schools freer in the conditions of their work; to throw on them greater individual responsibility for the planning of the course of study and for the methods of school work; to give them freedom in the choosing of their assistants; to entrust to them in short, powers like those which are enjoyed by the head masters and head mistresses of secondary schools would be but to take a step further on the road of liberty in school organization which we have already followed so far with, in the main, good results. With this increased freedom the work of the teacher would become more attractive because more interesting and responsible. . . . To touch the weak spot in English education, we need to encourage a new spirit in the great mass of the elementary schools. Once get that, and there will follow more encouragement of self-training on the part of the children; greater simplification (without narrowness of intellectual outlook) in the course of study; and a steady growth of interest, both among young people and employers in the opportunities offered by continuation schools. I am drawn to the conclusion that the way to get this new spirit is boldly to give more freedom to the teachers, to pay them better and to have smaller classes in the schools.

WASTE OF PAPER IN SCHOOLS

A correspondent writing to the *Madras Times* complains of waste of paper in schools. She says: 'My daughter had no less than twelve exercise books, one each for algebra, graphs, arithmetic, space-work—which might have been confined to two.' We think we should congratulate this lady, comments the *Leader* of Allahabad, for evidently they in Madras are wasting less than those at Allahabad. Here, even in the lowest forms in school, students have to keep 'rough' and 'fair' note-books on every subject and those subjects are legion—geography, history, arithmetic, manual training, drawing, English text, grammar, English translation, Hindi text, Hindi grammar, Hindi translation.

Légál

• HINDU LAW OF INHERITANCE

• A full bench consisting of the Chief Justice, Mullick, Prasad, Imam and Thornhill, J. J., delivered judgment on an important question of Hindu law of inheritance at Bankipore. The question was whether amongst the Bandhus of a deceased Hindu the maternal uncle is the preferable heir to the sister's daughter's son. The facts of the case were as follow: The plaintiff, who is the sister's daughter's son of one Chamanlal Upadhyaya who died childless claimed to be the preferable heir to the deceased's maternal uncle. The suit was dismissed by the Town Court, and an appeal being preferred in view of the importance of the question, it was brought for decision before a full bench. Mr. Krishna Sahay, Vakil for the plaintiff, appellant, argued that propinquity was the regulating principle of succession and that the theory of spiritual benefit found no place whatsoever in Mitakshara. Mr. Mirtunjaylal argued that consanguinity determined heritable right and propinquity measured the spiritual benefit conferred by the deceased proprietor. Their Lordships Mullick, Prasad and Thornhill, J. J., the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Imam dissenting, held that the maternal uncle was the preferable heir to the sister's daughter's son according to the Mitakshara school of Hindu Law, that the spiritual benefit had been accepted by Mitakshara in determining the preferable right and that the maternal uncle was nearer to the deceased than the sister's son according to Hindu mode of computation.

• THREE INDIAN JUDGES

Mr. Eardley Norton gives the following appreciations of three well-known Judges of the Madras High Court:—In ending my line of judicial worth with Sundaram Iyer I must not be construed into suggesting that Indian judicial worth ended with him. He was the last Indian judge I practised before. Krishnaswami and Sundaram were known as the "Mylapur Twins." They lived near each other, were never seen apart. Sundaram had the louder voice—a useful accomplishment—and Krishnaswami the finer brain. They taught law together, they wrote law together, they dressed it together. They ambled round the Luz together of an early morning,

chatting over the delicacies of *dwyamushyana* and licking their lips over the appetizing odour of an unrestricted inheritance. Both were staunch Congressmen—"wallahs" we used to be contemptuously called—and when Death fluttered away with Krishnaswami from the Executive Council, Sundaram who had succeeded him in the High Court fought on for a few short years but yielded to the beckoning of his friend and joined him across the dark waters of the Styx. Both were earnest, straight men in whose hands I would safely have placed my honour. If only the Englishman would believe there were many, many such! Sundaram's successors I know personally but have never appeared professionally before them. Of them I will have something to say later.

Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar—the senior of them—can boast one proud pre-eminence. A few years ago I went down to Tanjore to defend a man charged with murder. The details of the case are so illustrative of Madras provincial justice and of the extraordinary ascendancy which the Public Prosecutor enjoys over the mind of Sessions Judge that I will deal with it fully further on. Much of the evidence was hearsay. The balance consisted of the statement of an approver who twice withdrew it at Sessions and who in cross-examination utterly broke down. None the less the Judge convicted and sentenced my client to death. On appeal the case was heard by Mr. Justice Bakewell who to the best of my knowledge never held a criminal brief in his life, and Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar. They differed, the former sustained the conviction, the latter quashed it. The case perforce went before a third Judge, my old friend (may I still call him that seeing he sits now in the purple patches of the Government of India!) and antagonist, Mr. Justice Sankaran Nair who agreed with Mr. Justice Bakewell. The prisoner appealed to the Privy Council who acquitted him and passed some scathing remarks on the brain power which in Madras had regarded a conviction as possible. I always bow to the memory of Mr. Justice Sadasiva Aiyar as I shave of a morning before I appear on behalf of a murderer. But what about Sankaran Nair! Some day when he shall have been driven out of office by Mr. Welby of the *Madras Mail*, I believe he will take me into his confidence and explain how he rests over the abyss leaving his friends and admirers to totter breathless and aghast upon the brink!

Medical

INDIGENT PATIENTS IN MADRAS

The Madras Government have issued orders providing for indigent patients being sent from hospitals in the mofussil to a hospital in Madras or elsewhere outside the district for treatment. The number of such cases is not likely to be large, as ordinarily the District Medical and Sanitary Officer or the Civil Surgeon in each District has a sufficient equipment to enable him to deal with all cases that come to his hospital. The Government, however, consider that cases may arise occasionally in which it would be necessary or advantageous to send a patient to Madras, e.g., for operations on the eye which the District Medical and Sanitary Officer may not be accustomed to perform, for X-ray treatment or examination for which there is no suitable provision in mofussil hospitals, and possibly for rare and complicated operations. In such cases indigent patients, whether in the service of the Government or not, should be enabled to proceed to Madras at the public expense.

INDUSTRIAL HOSPITALS

In America factories, commercial firms and business concerns ordinarily maintain dispensaries or hospitals under the charge of capable physicians and nurses, not only for the advantage of the employees but also of the employers themselves. The magnitude of the work can be gauged from the fact that an annual outlay of several hundred thousand dollars has been found necessary for the maintenance of the hospitals by running expenditure, and in 1915 alone the United Fruit Company of Boston treated 116,000 patients through these medical institutions. The perfection of the organisation is stated to be such that no man in the whole concern will go without receiving prompt treatment, even though the man himself may be unable to report his own case to the proper authorities. The importance of these hospitals is so great and their influence so far-reaching that patients from the Panama Canal zone are treated at the Port Limon Hospital. In return for the medical care afforded to the employees, a small sum of two per cent. of their earnings is deducted from their wages. Hospitals attached to factories, etc., are indeed very valuable institutions; and though India is not an industrially advanced country, comments the *Commonweal*, still the idea is one well worthy of consideration by the captains of industry in the Bombay Presidency.

ALCOHOL AND DRUGS IN INDIA

It has been proved by careful scientific experiments and confirmed by experience that:—

1. Alcohol, cocaine, opium, and intoxicating drugs (such as bhang, ganja, and charas) are poisons.

2. Even a moderate use of these is harmful, especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain.

3. Those who confine themselves to non-alcoholic drinks and who avoid the use of intoxicating drugs are capable of more endurance, and are better able to resist infection and disease.

4. Alcohol is in many cases injurious to the next generation, especially through its favouring influence upon venereal disease.

5. Alcohol aggravates the evils of famine.

6. Alcohol is useless as a preventive of plague.

7. Alcohol lowers the resisting power of the body against the parasites of malaria and the microbes of tuberculosis.

8. All that has been said applies with equal force to opium and intoxicating drugs.

9. We therefore appeal to the people of India to maintain and extend the practice of total abstinence as enjoined upon them by their religious and social obligations.

A NEW STRETCHER.

Dr. Thomas P. Poole has devised a stretcher so constructed that one man can easily put a patient in it and carry him from the field without the assistance of a helper. The stretcher is carried by a U-shaped arch axle which extends between large wheels. The tilting of the U-shaped handle from vertical to horizontal position lifts the stretcher from the ground, the leverage being such as to enable this to be accomplished even though the patient be a heavy man.

By pulling instead of pushing the stretcher it can be taken up any steep incline. It saves wasting one man as a second ambulance bearer, and the usual horses or mules required for an ambulance. "Every doctor in civil practice," Dr. Poole says, "in places too small to possess ambulance accommodations, who has ever attempted to move sick or injured patients even for short distances with untrained bearers, will appreciate the value of the machine in such instances. For it handles patients without the jars that are so distressing to a wounded man."

Science .

BREEZELESS FANS

An interesting development of the electric fan, described in the *Scientific American* (New York), is a series of blades formed on new lines. Says this paper:

"Instead of the propeller-shaped blade, the present device is composed of sheets of metal rolled in a cylindrical shape, one cylinder being within the other. The action of this fan when attached to a motor in the ceiling is to draw the air upward with a gentle draft, instead of blowing it violently downward from the upper part of the room. The inventor claims that this results in far more effective cooling, as the heated air is nearest the ceiling, while the cool air is near the floor. Hence to draw the cool air upward gives the best results. The action of the fan is so gentle that it does not tend to raise the dust from the floor, yet it effectively circulates the air and reduces the temperature in short order. It has been tried out with success in restaurants and offices and is adapted to factories, halls, and other places where perfect ventilation is required."

MAN AND BRUTE

Here is an interesting vindication of the brute from the pen of a writer in the *Scientific American*:—Thus the charge of cruelty against the carnivora is unjust. These animals generally destroy their victims outright and in the rare cases, *e. g.*, cat and mouse, where they prolong the suffering, they have no knowledge of the pain they are causing. When, therefore, we stigmatize the conduct of the cruel man as "brutal" we wrong brutes. The animal which attacks another and in so doing causes pain merely responds to a blind unthinking instinct; but man, proud man, who looks before and after, is able to realise and take pleasure in the pain he deliberately and by subtle means may be, sets out to cause. It is clearly absurd to speak of this conduct as "brutal." Rather we should call it devilish, the Devil usually being credited with a goodly share of intelligence. We must cease to libel the brutes by designating the basest acts as brutal. As a matter of fact, they cannot be charged with non-moral conduct seeming that they are devoid of self-consciousness.

CARBON DISULPHIDE

Carbon disulphide is an important solvent though it has an offensive smell. In the manufacture of essences, artificial and natural, and as a solvent for oils of various kinds, it is finding an increasing market. It is a very volatile liquid. It was manufactured previously by passing sulphur vapour over glowing charcoal and condensing the vapours led through iron pipes in suitable condensers. The electric process has, however, ousted the old process, and practically most of it is now manufactured in the electric furnace.

SCIENCE AND MECHANICAL ARTS

The following is culled from Henri Bergson:—"The idea, peculiar to the nineteenth century, of employing science in the satisfaction of our material wants has given a wholly unforeseen extension to the mechanical arts, and has equipped man in less than fifty years with more tools than he had made during the thousands of years he had lived on the earth. Each new machine being for man a new organ—an artificial organ which merely prolongs the natural organs—his body has become suddenly and prodigiously increased in size without his soul being able at the same time to dilate to the dimensions of his new body."

ELECTRICITY FROM GAS.

According to the claims of a prominent engineer, electricity direct from coal gas is a possibility. The new process involves an electrolytic cell used as follows: The method is to dissolve in an electrolyte of fused borax the oxide of a metal such as manganese, which forms two or more oxides of different degrees of oxidation and passes from a lower to a higher degree of oxidation when in contact with air and from a higher to a lower when in contact with a reducing agent such as fuel gas. When the solutions of a higher and a lower oxide are brought into liquid contact at any point a difference of electrical potential results, and if an appropriate electrode is immersed in each of the solutions a current of electricity will pass in a conductor joining them, so long as the difference of oxidation respectively in the two solutions is maintained. The current is about one volt, and from 15 amps. upward.

SULPHUR

Sulphur is one of the oldest known elements; the ancient Assyrian alchemists regarded it as the principle of combustion and termed it "brimstone," meaning literally burning stone.

Personal

THE KING AND INDIA

Presiding over the annual meeting of the East India Association, Lord Reay, referring to the King's announcement that the Prince of Wales would visit India and other parts of the Empire after the war, said that very few heirs to the throne had such opportunities as the Prince of Wales or used them so well. The King was the first British sovereign who had personal knowledge of every part of his Dominions, and India owed a deep debt of gratitude to His Majesty for the interest he had shown in her affairs and for his knowledge of these affairs. Lord Reay warmly welcomed the decision to grant Army Commissions to Indians who had shown that whenever occasion arose our Indian fellow-subjects would prove their valour on the battlefield. It would always be remembered with pride that it was by the aid of Indian troops that the Germans were prevented from getting to Paris at the beginning of the war.

PRINCE DULEEP SINGH

Prince Victor Albert Jay Duleep Singh, whose death is announced by Reuter, was born in London on July 10, 1866. He was the eldest son of the late Maharaja Duleep Singh, G. C. S. I., of Lahore, and Bamba, daughter of L. Muller of Alexandria, Egypt. He married in 1898 Lady Anne, youngest daughter of the ninth Earl of Coventry. He was educated at Eton, and at Trinity and Downing Colleges, Cambridge. He was gazetted to the 1st Royal Dragoons in February, 1888, was Hon. A. D. C. to Lieut.-Gen. Ross, K. C. B., Commanding General at Halifax, Nova Scotia, from 1888 to 1890, and Captain of the Royal Dragoons from 1894 to 1898. Shooting and music were the Prince's recreations.

THE NEW IRISH LEADER

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—

Mr. John Dillon who succeeds the late Mr. Redmond as leader of the Irish Nationalist party is certainly the most picturesque figure among the surviving members of Parnell's time. His hair is now white, but it is not very long ago that it was raven black and straight, like so many Irishmen, with a well-cut if not too closely trimmed beard. There has always been an imaginative, sombre expression in his handsome eyes, while the nose and mouth are quite classic Greek in their perfection. The late Mr. Justice

Mathew, himself a robust almost bucolic personality, once called him "the melancholy humbug"; but the eminent Judge was by no means expressing his inward feelings, the remark having been elicited in momentary irritation through Mr. T. P. O'Connor's constant references to "the beautiful and dreamy form of Mr. Dillon," in a series of descriptive scenes in the House of Commons that were very popular at the time. I have previously referred to the extraordinary likeness between the new Irish leader and my friend the late Sir Hugh Lane, the great art critic, who was distinctly psychic and magnetic. The type belongs to Hibernia; yet neither the Lanes nor the Dillons are of Celtic origin. The family of Mr. Dillon, like that of the late Mr. Redmond, went to Ireland from this country in the wake of the Strongbow conquest. Mr. Dillon is a broad-minded statesman who in private life is distinguished by charm and culture.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON MR. REDMOND

The following passage from the eloquent appreciation of the late Mr. John Redmond which were uttered in the House of Commons may be read with interest:—

"His attitude in the war has given him a great place in the affections of Britain and there is no man of British race throughout the world, wherever he is, who will read of his death to-day except with unflinching sorrow and with a feeling that it is a blow and a loss not merely to Ireland but to Britain as well. He was a man of real breadth of view. He knew when to fight; he knew when to make peace. He was a man of real courage. He had the courage not merely to face foes; he had the more difficult and trying courage to know when to face friends, and to face misconception among friends. He yearned for conciliation, for the reconciliation of the feuds of centuries. He yearned passionately for it. He yearned as a man who wanted to see conciliation before his hour struck. He laboured for it. Unionists have told me with enthusiasm and with pride of his work in the Convention; the respect and confidence he won there by some of the greatest speeches of his career. They trusted him. They believed in him. Their hopes rested upon him, upon his integrity as well as his sagacity. They spoke with feeling of a man they had spent a life in fighting. . . . his last word to me was a plea for concord, concord between two races that Providence has decided should work together for the common ends of humanity as neighbours."

Political

THE REFORMS

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan in the course of his Presidential Address to the Special Session of the Behar Provincial Conference made the following suggestions for modifying the Montagu Chelmsford proposals.

1. That there should not be allowed to exist a Council of State in the Government of India.
2. That in the Viceroy's Executive Council half the number of members must be Indian.
3. That the following subjects, viz., Foreign affairs, Army and Navy and those that are necessary for peace, order and the safety of the country and those that have concern with the ruling chiefs should be considered reserved subjects.
4. An annual fixed amount should be determined by votes for the expenses of the reserved subjects and if the Government want more money, it shall have to get sanction from the Legislative Council by votes.

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

In these Governments all the departments save Law, Police and Justice be transferred to Ministers and those should be transferred automatically at the end of 5 years.

5. That the term of the service of the Ministers nominated by the Governor-in-Council to depend upon the Legislative Council.
6. The Provincial Budget to be under the control of the Legislative Council, provision being made for the amount of money that should be given to the Government of India and for the reserved subjects.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

Hon. Rai Sithanath Roy Bahadur in the course of a speech at the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce said that the proposals marked a stage in the progressive realisation of responsible government in India. He continued "I yield to none in my desire to see my countrymen managing their own affairs. But I hold that in politics as in business there cannot be proficiency and partnership without a period of apprenticeship. I make bold to say that the scheme before us makes an honest and earnest endeavour to transplant that spirit and improve institutions that suit the conditions of the country. There can be no doubt of the sympathy of the authors with the political aspirations of the Indians."

SIR F. YOUNGHUSBAND ON THE REFORMS.

Sir Francis Younghusband in a letter to the *Times* emphasises the delicacy of the operation of transferring the responsibility of governing Indian from British to an Indian electorate. He says if weight be transferred too suddenly Indians may collapse. If we never accustom Indians to bear burdens their muscles become atrophied through disuse and this is precisely what has been happening hitherto. It is in every way desirable that Indians should grow up upon their own lines, strong, healthy and erect. Vigorous and able English civil and military officers in India are wanted badly in many another part of the Empire. The stronger, the more capable of governing herself and the less dependent on us India becomes the better for the whole Empire. Instead of being a strain and a drain India might become a source of strength in South Asia and a model for every other Asiatic country. We are about to embark on a great adventure, the boldest and finest enterprise we have ever undertaken. No nation without our consummate experience could attempt it. Too much attention cannot be given and caution and care for details before the scheme is actually launched.

MAZZINI ON PROGRESS

"It would be idle to speak of social art at all or of the comprehension of humanity if he could not raise altars to the new gods without overthrowing the old. Those only should dare to utter the sacred name of progress whose souls possess intelligence enough to comprehend the past and whose hearts possess sufficient poetic religion to reverence its greatness. The temple of the believer is not the chapel of a sect; it is a vast pantheon in which the glorious images of Goethe and Byron will hold their honoured place long after *Goethism* and *Byronism* shall have ceased to be."

A MEMBER FOR INDIA

We are rejoiced, writes the *Leader*, at the election of Mr. H. E. A. Cotton to Parliament. We hope that if East Finsbury must have his first attention India will never be absent from his mind and that in him our national cause will find as warm-hearted a champion as it did in his illustrious father, Sir Henry Cotton of happy memory.

General

THE AGA KHAN'S SCHEME

The following details of the Aga Khan's scheme elaborated in his work on "India in Transition" was cabled to India by Reuter:—

It embodies a scheme of federal reform embracing Principalities as well as Provinces.

It shows that India is too vast and diversified for a successful unilateral form of free Government and proposes autonomous Provinces in which official executive responsibility would be vested in a Governor as directly representing the Sovereign. The Governorships should now be open to Indians confining the choice for some years hence to Ruling Princes, Bikanir for instance, who would leave their own territory for five years for this greater field. The Aga Khan recommends the adoption of the American principle of freedom of the executive from legislative control so far as tenure of office is concerned.

Provincial legislatures should be greatly enlarged, Bombay for example having 180 to 220 members in order to have a representative of every district, community and substantial interest. There should be a Senate or Upper House and the power of both Houses over the legislature and finance should be subject only to the veto of the Governor, but the Legislature might possess the right of removing by a three-fourths majority an unsuitable or incompetent departmental head. There should be a royal Viceroy with a Prime Minister presiding over a Cabinet, choosing his colleagues under the Viceroy's guidance as he thought best.

After due establishment of a federal constitution room for Imperial legislation as distinct from questions of policy would be so small that the Central Legislature should be a Senate for which each great Province would send eight or ten representatives and each Native State would have representatives, beginning with seven for Hyderabad. Once internal federation was complete it would sooner or later attract Persia, Afghanistan and all principalities from Africa and similar countries into a freewill membership of a great South Asiatic federation of which Delhi would be the centre.

The need for building up a national army and a real Indian navy is emphasised after a survey of foreign relations as affected by Germany, Asiatic ambitions and the Pan-Turanian movement. The Aga Khan insists that a certain way of securing progressive civilisation, order, method and discipline to India lies in the creation of trusted local authorities natural to the soil and placing side by side with them the best British and Indian officials available to carry out with the consent of Government those measures from universal education to military service and political enfranchisement which have been instrumental in the evolution of all great law abiding nations.

There must be a final break with a Government deriving its authority wholly from and without the commencement from the lowest to the highest of the full co-operation of the people. These are means by which India will become a renewed, self-relying and sincerely loyal partner in a united Empire.

MR. GANDHI'S ADVICE

In the course of a letter addressed to the Hon. Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—

I entirely endorse the concluding remarks of the authors of these historic documents, (Montagu-Chelmsford Report) which thousands of Indian reformers are to-day studying with avidity:—"If anything could enhance the sense of responsibility under which our recommendations are made in a matter fraught with consequences so immense, it would be the knowledge that even as we are bringing our report to an end far greater issues still hang in the balance upon the battlefields of France. It is there and not in Delhi or Whitehall that the ultimate decision of India's future will be taken." May God grant us Home Rulers the wisdom to see this simple truth. The gateway to our freedom is situated on the French soil. No victory worth the name has yet been won without the shedding of blood. If we could but crowd the battle-fields of France with an indomitable army of Home-Rulers fighting for victory for the cause of the Allies, it will also be a fight for our own cause. We would then have made out an unanswerable case for the granting of Home-Rule, not in any distant or near future but immediately.

My advice therefore to the country would be fight unconditionally unto death with Britain for victory and agitate simultaneously, also unto death, if we must, for the reforms that we desire. This is the surest method of gaining an honourable victory for ourselves over the strongest opposition of bureaucratic forces and at the end of it there would be no ill-will left. It may not be impossible to gain our end by sheer obstructive and destructive agitation, but it is easy enough to see that we shall at the same time reap ill-will between the British and the Indian elements, not a particularly cohesive cement for binding would be partners.

A COPYRIGHT LIBRARY

The suggestion for a copyright library, put forward by Mr. B. N. Basu in the Imperial Legislative Council some time ago, is now under consideration of the Government of India, and, if approved, will involve a slight amendment of the Indian Copyright Act. The opportunity will also be taken to confer upon some of the more important libraries in India the privilege already enjoyed by the British Museum and other institutions in Great Britain of receiving copies of all publications that issue.

